# A SHORT GRAMMAR OF LITHUANIAN

Terje Mathiassen

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# FOREWORD

The present short grammar of Contemporary Standard Lithuanian was originally scheduled for the early nineties when the Soviet rule in Lithuania had just come to an end, at a time with sprouting contacts with the countries of the West. For several reasons, however, the completion of the book was delayed. Despite this delay, the author believes that there is still a considerable need for a grammar of Lithuanian of this size in English; the need for a tool like this can even be said to be stronger today when contacts with the West have become consolidated and normalized than, say, in 1990.

The book has been written primarily for students of Lithuanian as a foreign language at university level, but can also be used by others. It fulfills (and goes slightly beyond) the need for grammatical training for a BA-degree in the UK and the USA or the Foundation level (a one-year unit of study after an introductory course) in Scandinavia. Thus, the grammar contains the fundamentals of the phonology, morphology (with short passages also on word formation), and syntax of Lithuanian. Syntax is concentrated in the last chapters of the book (Case, The Sentence, Agreement and Word Order) - with the exception of the syntax of adjectives, numerals and participles which for practical reasons has been incorporated and dealt with in chapters 3, 4 and 5 bearing appropriate headings.

The present volume is primarily a synchronic, prescriptive (normative), not a descriptive grammar. Notes on certain diachronic items as well as supplementary information are given in small type.

Where appropriate, short Lithuanian-English, Lithuanian-Scandinavian and similar remarks are presented.

The examples used for illustrations have been taken mainly from dictionaries and newspapers or have been made up by the author and checked with informants.

Stress and intonation are given only for single words, not for sentences or word groups.

To facilitate its lucidity and readability, the book is supplied with a relatively comprehensive table of contents at the beginning of the

volume plus an index at the end. At the end of the volume a list of reference literature is also given.

There should be no need for a separate table of abbreviations and symbols since they are either explained in the text or are supposed to be immediately understandable to the reader. Thus, for example, C for "consonant", V for "vowel", R for "resonant" and H for "laryngeal" are all symbols commonly used in linguistic literature.

The grammar has been used in manuscript by my students of Lithuanian at the University of Oslo. I am grateful to them, especially to Rasa Žiburkutė, Paal Arbo and Svein Nestor, for their positive criticism. I am equally indebted to my Vilnius colleagues, especially Professors Evalda Jakaitienė, Bonifacas Stundžia (both of whom have guest-lectured for a lengthy period at the Univerity of Oslo), Vytautas Ambrazas, Aleksas Girdenis, Antanas Pakerys, Vincas Labutis, Algirdas Sabaliauskas, Meilutė Ramonienė as well as Professors Rainer Eckert, University of Greifswald, and Steven Young at the University of Maryland. All of them have been of great help with their valuable suggestions for improvements, with corrections and patience with my numerous questions, but more than anyone else I am indebted to my wife, cand. philol. Ann-Marie Mathiassen, for her very conscientious, thorough and insightful reading of the entire manuscript as well as constructive discussions. For all remaining shortcomings and errors I am alone responsible. Finally, Assistant Professor Patrick N. Chaffey at the Department of British and American Studies, University of Oslo, also deserves my warmest thanks for having checked my English. Thanks also to stud. philol. Knut Skrindo for technical assistance in terms of formatting the book to fit *Slavica* standard size and to *Slavica* for publishing the manuscript.

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Terje Mathiassen

# Chapter 0

# INTRODUCTION

Genetically, Lithuanian belongs together with Latvian (and extinct Old Prussian) to the Baltic languages which constitute a separate branch of the Indo-European (IE) family of languages. To IE also belong the Slavic languages, among them Russian and Polish, as well as Germanic, whose main members are English, German, Dutch and the Scandinavian languages. Thus, there is a remote genetic link between English and Lithuanian. Within an Indo-European framework the Baltic languages are more closely related to the Slavic branch than to any other IE linguistic subdivision. The alleged similarities between Baltic and Slavic should, however, not be exaggerated from a purely practical point of view. At any rate, there is obviously no mutual understanding between - let us say - a Russian and a Lithuanian when they speak their mother tongues, whereas a Russian and a Pole will to a certain extent be able to communicate.

During the Middle Ages history, culture and religion separated Lithuania from Latvia in the sense that the former entered the Polish sphere of influence, whereas the latter was exposed to influence above all from German (the Teutonic /German/ Order) and subsequent German layers (consisting of gentry, tradesmen and clergy) as well as from the nowadays almost extinct Livonian, which alongside Estonian, Finnish and some minor languages (Karelian, Vepsian, Votic) constitutes the Balto-Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric language family.

Several layers can be distinguished in the vocabulary of Lithuanian. First, there is a basic IE vocabulary, cf. for instance the word for 'heart' *širdis* which has cognates in most IE languages. The same is true for the words for 'son', 'daughter', 'mother', 'sun', 'moon' etc: *sūnus, duktė, motina, saulė, mėnuo*. Then, there is the Balto-Slavic stratum containing words known exclusively within these two groups of IE, for instance Lith. *galva*, Latvian *galva*, Russian *golova*, Polish *głowa* meaning 'head' in all languages quoted. Another example is the word for 'hand, arm': Lith. *rankà*, Latv. *roka* (< * *ranka*), Russ. *ruka*, Po. *ręka* (both from an earlier **ranka*). As a third layer may be discerned

words limited to the group of Baltic languages alone, e. g. Lith. *kója*, Latv. *kāja* 'foot, leg'. If we continue with the body, the word for 'hair' may serve as an example of where the Baltic languages are split as the Lithuanians say *plaukaĩ*, the Latvians *mati*. This scheme with several layers should not be oversimplified and regarded as an automatic indicator in terms of chronology; it should be looked upon as a purely guiding and schematic principle. Finally, both Lithuanian and its sister language, Latvian, have through the centuries adopted a great number of borrowings and international words from different sources and languages, frequently from or through Russian. To-day the English impact on the vocabulary is also considerable.

Lithuanian is spoken by roughly 3 million people in Lithuania proper which means about 80 % of the population (the bulk of the remaining inhabitants are either Russian or Polish speaking). In addition there are around half a million Lithuanians living abroad - above all in the United States (especially the Chicago metropolitan area). Lithuanian is divided into several dialects, the principal division being between the Žemaitic (lit. 'lower') dialects along the (south-)western Latvian border and the Aukštaitic (lit. 'higher'). The standard language was coined during the second half of the 19th century on the basis of a West Aukštaitic dialect which at that time was the culturally most prestigeous and economically superior. There are considerable differences between the standard language and the vernacular of the cultural and political centre of Lithuania to-day, the capital of Vilnius.

The oldest texts in Lithuanian are of religious content and date back to the era of the Reformation, i. e. the sixteenth century, and were printed in Königsberg (Lith. Karaliaučius) in Lithuania Minor (= East Prussia) where Lithuanians and Germans lived together as neighbours. This area has played an important role in the history of Lithuanian culture. From East Prussia one can also speak about a German influence on the entire Baltic area since the period of the Reformation. In Lithuania, however, the Counter-Reformation became victorious.

Despite the fact that Lithuanian has a rather young literary tradition the language is in many respects archaic; this is particularly the case with the nominal system (i. e. the declension of nouns, adjectives and pronouns) where many old forms have survived. The difference between Old Lithuanian of the sixteenth century and Modern Lithuanian is not very great. In comparison with Lithuanian, Latvian has experienced more innovations.

# Chapter 1

# PHONOLOGY

## Consonants

There are 45 consonant phonemes in Standard Lithuanian. The main reason for this relatively rich inventory is that the Lithuanian consonants can be grouped into 22 pairs according to the distinctive feature [+/-palatalized], i. e. oppositions like /s/ : /s̡/ /z/ : /z̡/, /l/ : /l̡/ etc. where the sign ̡ stands for [+ palatalized]. Only one consonant in the system is not a member of a pair [+/- palatalized], namely /j/ which by way of its very nature is always palatal. On the phonetic reality behind palatalization, see p. 23. A frequent synonym for palatal(ized) is "soft" and for non-palatal(ized) "hard".

Beside the contrast [+/-palatal] there is also another *binary opposition* in the system, namely that of *voiced* vs. *unvoiced*, cf., for instance, /d/ : /t/, /g/ : /k/.

The *unvoiced : voiced* opposition constitutes 16 pairs, leaving aside as unpaired the voiced /m/, /m̡/, /n/, /n̡/, /r/, /r̡/, /l/, /l̡/, /v/, /v̡/, /j/ as well as the unvoiced /f/, /f̡/.

Consonants which differ from each other only with respect to either the feature [+/-palatalized] or the feature [+/-voiced] are labeled *correlative*.

The consonant phonemes of Lithuanian (some of which are marginal) can be given in the following table:

| | labial | dental | post-alveolar | palatal | velar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| plosives | p b<br>p̡ b̡ | t d<br>t̡ d̡ | | | k g<br>k̡ g̡ |
| fricatives | f<br>f̡ | s z<br>s̡ z̡ | ʃ ʒ<br>ʃ̡ ʒ̡ | | x ɣ<br>x̡ ɣ̡ |
| affricates | | t͡s d͡z<br>t͡s̡ d͡z̡ | t͡ʃ d͡ʒ<br>t͡ʃ̡ d͡ʒ̡ | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nasals | m<br>m̡ | n<br>n̡ | | | |
| vibrants | | r<br>r̡ | | | |
| approximants | v<br>v̡ | l<br>l̡ | | j | |

Some comments on the table should be given:

It should be emphasized that the phonemic opposition /t/ : /t̡/ and /d/ : /d̡/ is marginal since *t̡* and *d̡* appear before both front and back vowels only in borrowings and onomatopoetics. In ordinary autochthonic words *t̡* and *d̡* are encountered exclusively before front vowels (and are therefore automatic variants of /t/ and /d/). Before back vowels /t͡ʃ̡/ and /d͡ʒ̡/ take their place: [ˈpant͡ʃ̡o], written *pančio* (gen. sg. of *pantis*) 'chain', [ˈs̡e:d͡ʒ̡u] *sėdžiu* 'sit' (1 sg. pres.) vs. *sėdi* (2 sg. pres.). For the orthographic representation of the sounds, see p. 23. The nonpalatalized /t͡ʃ/ and /d͡ʒ/ are very rare (especially the latter). They are restricted mostly to borrowings and expressive vocabulary. Among the few non-borrowings with /t͡ʃ/ are [ˈgɪnt͡ʃas], written *ginčas*, 'argument, discussion' and [ˈi:pat͡ʃ], written *ypač*, 'especially'. The phoneme /d͡ʒ/ is extremely rare in pure Lithuanian words. Of other consonants, /g̡/ seems to be very marginal as a true phoneme, and there are likely to be very few instances also of phonemic /x̡/; one would be *amfibrachis* 'amphibrach' with a genitive sg. [am̡f̡ɪˈbrax̡o], written *amfibrachio*. Also /f̡/ is rarely encountered (one example would be present in *amfibrachis* just quoted).

### The Phonetic Realization of the Lithuanian Consonants. Palatalization

Lithuanian plosives (stops) are *unaspirated* (except in word final position).

The scope of the present volume makes it necessary to limit the comments on the pronunciation of the separate sounds to those which cause the greatest difficulties to the student. Thus, the [z] is voiced like the English *-s-* in *please* whereas the [ʒ] is similar to the sound heard in *vision* or to the *j-* in French *jour*. Of the affricates [t͡s] is pronounced like *z* in German *Ziel*, [d͡z] like *z* in Italian *zero,* [t͡ʃ] like *ch* in English *church* and [d͡ʒ] like *g(e)* in *George*.

The [x] is pronounced approximately like the *ach-Laut* of German. Its soft counterpart has a less fronted articulation than the

German *ich-Laut*. The voiced counterparts [ɡ̟] and [ɡ̠ʲ] are pronounced with activization of the vocal cords.

As demonstrated in the above table the [r] and [r̠] are dentals.

The [v] and [v̠] are approximants (and consequently not the voiced counterparts of the fricatives [f], [f̠]). An approximant is also the [j] (which does *not* form a pair *voiced : unvoiced* with the [x̠ʲ]!).

The approximant [ɬ] requires a special comment. It is identical to the 'hard' (non-palatalized) [ɬ] of Russian, or [ɬ] in South East Norwegian *dal* and similar to [l] in English *elk*. The tongue tip touches the upper teeth and the back of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. The articulation is lateral, cf. the following [l̠].

The soft [l̠] is produced by raising the back of the tongue to the rear part of the hard palate, by pressing the upper-front part of the tongue against the upper teeth, and letting the air from the lungs pass through the sides of the blades of the tongue (= lateral articulation). In this description the essential mechanism of palatalization is included: *The phonetic reality behind palatalization is the (additional) movement of the tongue in the direction of the zone of the hard palate, i. e. to the j/i-position*. The *j* and the consonant in question are pronounced simultaneously in such a way that the *j* is 'absorbed' in the process and not heard.

Palatalization is regarded as an *additional* articulation superimposed on the corresponding non-palatalized consonant which is regarded as basic and the point of departure for the palatalized variant, cf., for instance /k/ versus /kʲ/.

Lithuanian palatalization seems "lighter" (at least before front vowels) than Russian palatalization.

In many descriptions of phonology a distinction is made between an upper and a lower articulator. In this volume attention has been paid only to the upper (post-alveolar, palatal, velar) whereas for the sake of simplicity such lower articulators as apical, laminal and dorsal have been dropped.

## Orthographic Representation of the Lithuanian Consonants

But for the following deviations the consonants of Lithuanian are represented in the orthography in the same way as illustrated in the phonemic chart above:

The affricates /t͡s/, /d͡z/, /t͡ʃ/, and /d͡ʒ/ are written *c, dz, č* and *dž* respectively. The fricative /x/ is expressed through the digraph *ch*. Its voiced counterpart /ɡ̟/ is written *h*.

Consonants in Lithuanian are automatically palatalized before front vowels (including diphthongs with *e* or *i* as their first constituent). Examples: *gimti* ['ɡ̟ɪ-] 'to be born', *Lietuva* [l̠ie-] 'Lithuania', *tėvas*

[ˈʒeː-] 'father', *keisti* [ˈkʲɛi-] 'to change'. Before back vowels palatalization is signalized through the letter *i* which in this position has no phonetic value except as a palatalization marker. Examples: *čia* 'here' (pronounced [ˈtʃʲɛ]), *dariau* [daˈrʲɛu] 'I did', *šioks* [ʃʲoːks] 'such'. It should be observed that after a soft consonant *a* is fronted to [ɛ].

Note that when *i* is written before *e*, it is part of a *diphthong*, namely /ie/, e. g. *namie* 'at home'.

The labials require a special comment since in word-initial position the soft variants before back vowels are accompanied by a regular [j] which is also expressed in today's spelling, cf. for instance *pjauti* (not **piauti*) 'to cut' with the phonetic realization [pjæ·uti] where the point indicates semi-length. In positions other than initial soft labials behave like other soft consonants both in terms of spelling and phonetic realization, e. g. *labiau* [laˈbʲɛu] 'better'.

## Consonant Alternations

Beside the automatic shifts between hard and soft consonants in cases like, for example, *galas* [ˈgɑːɫas] 'end' (nom.) : *gale* [gaˈlʲe] 'in the end' (loc.), the *t : č* and *d : dž* alternation should be mentioned. It is encountered in the declension of nouns, adjectives and participles, in conjugations and derivations and will be referred to in the sections on morphology below. Examples: *tėtis* (nom. sg.) : *tėčio* (gen. sg.) 'dad', *didysis* (nom. sg. m. pron. form) : *didžiojo* (gen. sg. m. pron. form) 'big', *mačiau* 'I saw' (1 sg. pret.) : *matė* 'saw', 3 pret., *matęs* (m. sg. nom. pret. part. act.) : *mačiusi* (f. sg. nom. pret. part. act.) 'having seen', *katė* 'cat' : *kačiukas* 'kitten'. A couple of examples are also quoted on p. 22 above.

The historical basis for the alternations *t : č, d : dž* is the sequence **tj* > *č, and* **dj* > *dž*. It should also be added that as a result of a historical rule in Baltic the vowel *i* before a vowel changed to */j/. This explains the opposition *matęs : mačiusi* which has developed from the stem **matī-* (cf. the inf. *matyti).* In *matęs* the **ī* disappeared before *e* without leaving a trace. (The diphthong *ie* is secondary, having developed under somewhat obscure circumstances from **ei*, and possibly also **ai*.)

### Consonant Assimilations

A basic rule of consonant clusters in Lithuanian is that the second or last consonant in a sequence determines the character of the preceding one with respect to the features [+voiced] : [-voiced] and [+palatalized] : [-palatalized]. The processes in question are called *regressive assimilations.*

Let us first consider

1) the *voicing/devoicing rule* which can be formulated in the following way: *a voiced consonant is devoiced by an immediately following unvoiced consonant; an unvoiced consonant is voiced in the position immediately before a voiced consonant.*

Illustrations:

a) *devoicing:* bėgti ['bʲeːkʲtʲi] 'run', dirbti ['dʲɪrpʲtʲɪ] 'work', megzti ['mʲɛkʲstʲɪ] 'knot, knit', vežti ['vʲɛʃtʲɪ] 'carry'

b) *voicing: sukdamas* ['sugdamas] 'twisting', *kasdavo* ['kazdavoː] 'dug', *atgal* [ad'gaɬ] 'back'

As becomes evident from the above examples the rule operates also across boundaries between prefixes and suffixes. In normal (rapid) speech it operates even across word boundaries: *jis davė* [jiz-'daːvʲeː] 'he gave'.

It should be emphasized that only voiced consonants forming *correlative* pairs with unvoiced consonants (i. e. *d : t, b : p* etc.) are capable of triggering the voicing rule whereas the unpaired voiced *r, l, m, n* together with *v* and *j* are unable to voice a preceding unvoiced consonant: *atminti* [at'mʲɪnʲtʲɪ] 'remember' (not *[ad'mʲɪnʲtʲɪ]), *šventas* ['ʃvʲɛntas] 'sacred' (not *['ʒvʲɛntas]).

Although not the result of an assimilation the unvoicing rule in *word-final position* should also be mentioned here: voiced consonants with the exception of *r, l, m, n* become unvoiced in this position, e. g. *daug* [dauk] 'much', *kad* [kat] 'that; if', *bemaž* [bʲɛ'maš] 'hardly'.

*2) assimilations with respect to[+/- palatalization]*

The following rule can be given:

*If the last consonant in a cluster is palatalized then the immediately preceding consonant is also palatalized*, e. g. in (the nom. pl. m.) *pilni* [piļ'ņi] 'full'. Here both the [ņ] and the preceding [ļ] are soft. Another good example is *spręsti* ['spʲrʲæːsʲtʲɪ] 'to decide'. More examples can be extracted from the material under 1 a) above and 3 c) below. *Mutatis mutandis* the same principle holds good for consonant clusters in which the last consonant is non-palatalized, cf., for example *pilnas* (nom. sg. m.) where the [ɬ] is hard because of the following hard [n].

*3) Other assimilations*

a) The clusters *-nk-* and *-ng-* are assimilated to [ŋk] and [ŋg] respectively, e. g. *bankas* ['baŋkas] 'bank', *banga* [baŋg'a] 'wave'.

b) Partial assimilations between prefix and root are observed in cases like *sam-būvis* 'coexistence' vs. *san-taka* 'confluence'. Here the

labial *m* stands before labial stops, *n* before other stops (dentals and velars).

c) The clusters *sč* and *zdž* are usually pronounced [ʃtʃ] and [ʒdʒ] respectively. Examples:

*pėsčias* [ˈpʲe:ʃtʃas] 'pedestrian', *mesčiau* [ˈmʲɛʃtʃau] 'I would throw', *pavyzdžiui* [ˈpavyʒdʒui] 'for example'.

d) An assimilation which is connected with degemination (see next point) takes place on the boundary between a prefix and the root: *užsienis* [ˈuʂieɲis] 'abroad'.

**Degemination**

Degemination is observed on the boundary between a prefix and the root in cases like *iš-šokti* 'jump out' which is pronounced [ɪˈʃo:kʲtɪ].

**Differentiation and Metathesis**

A case of differentiation is represented by **t* + *t* and **d* + *t* which have both rendered *st*, cf. *mesti* 'throw' vs. *meta* 'throws' and *vesti* 'to lead' : *veda* 'leads'. The combinations **d* + *d* and **t* + *d* have both yielded *zd*, cf. *žaizda* 'wound' vs. *žeidė* 'wounded', *mesdavo* [ˈmʲɛz-davo:] 'used to throw' : *meta* 'throws'.

Observe further the alternations *sk : ks, šk : kš, zg : gz* and *žg : gž*.

Examples: *dreskia, drėskė : drėksti* 'tear', *blyško : blykšta, blykšti* 'turn pale', *mezga, mezgė : megzdavo, megzti* 'to knot; knit', *džeržgia, džeržgė : džergždavo, džergžti* 'to scrape'. As illustrated through the examples the sequences *sk/šk, zg/žg* appear in prevocalic, *ks/kš* and *gz/gž* in preconsonantal position. The process can be referred to as metathesis.

# The Vowels

Standard Lithuanian has 5 short vowel phonemes and 6 long.

## The Short Vowels

The short vowels can be shown diagrammatically in a quadrangular system:

| FRONT | BACK |
|---|---|
| /ɪ/ | /ʊ/ |
| | </ɔ/> |
| /ɛ/ | /a/ |

One of the above phonemes, namely /ɔ/, is marginal and attested only in words of foreign origin, as, for example, in: *Londonas* 'London'. The vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ are very open.

Short vowels are found both in stressed and unstressed position.

In words of foreign origin some speakers use /e/ instead of /ɛ/.

**Spelling of the Short Vowels**

In Lithuanian orthography the vowel /ɪ/ is spelt *i*, /ɛ/ *e*, /ʊ/ *u*, /ɔ/ *o* and /a/ *a*.

Examples:

/ɪ/: *kitas* ['kʲɪtas] 'other' (nom. sg. m.); /ɛ/: *bet* [bʲɛt] 'but', /a/: *akis* [a'kʲɪs] 'eye', /ʊ/: *butas* 'flat' ['bʊtas] , /ɔ/: *Oslas* ['ɔslas] 'Oslo'.

**The Long Vowels**

The long vowels can be shown diagrammatically in a quadrangular system:

| | FRONT | BACK |
|---|---|---|
| HIGH | /i:/ | /u:/ |
| MID | /e:/ | /o:/ |
| LOW | /æ:/ | /ɑ:/ |

Long vowels are found both in stressed and unstressed position.

**Spelling of the Long Vowels**

The spelling of long vowels is not as simple as that of the short since the 1 : 1 relation between phoneme and grapheme is observed only in the case of /e:/ and /o:/ which in the orthography are rendered as *ė* and *o* respectively. The remaining four have two orthographic representations each. Thus, /i:/ is represented by *y* and *į*, /u:/ by *ū* and *ų*, /æ:/ by *e* and *ę*, and /ɑ:/ by *a* and *ą*. These ambiguities in the spelling are mainly due to conventions based on etymological principles, see p. 29 f.

Examples:

/i:/ *vyras* [ˈvʲi:ras] 'man', *įtaka* [ˈi:taka] 'influence'; /e:/: *gėrė* [ˈge:re:] 'drank (3 sg.)'; /æ:/: *geras* [ˈgæ:ras] 'good' (nom. sg. m.), *spręsti* [ˈspʲræ:stʲɪ] 'to decide'; /u:/ *kūnas* [ˈku:nas] 'body', *skųsti* [ˈsku:stʲɪ] 'complain of'; /o:/: *oras* [ˈo:ras] 'weather', /ɑ:/: *galas* [ˈgɑ:las]'end', *gerą* [ˈgæ:rɑ:] 'good' (acc. sg. m.).

**Comparison between the Systems of Short and Long Vowels**

From the above tables it becomes evident that in terms of *phonemes* there is lack of symmetry between the systems of short and long vowels in that a narrow /e:/ is "intercalated" between the /i:/ and the /æ:/. It should further be emphasized that the /o:/ - contrary to its short counterpart - is in no way marginal in the system.

The description above has revealed that the *graphemes e, a* and *o* can represent both short and long vowels. For guidelines on when they are short and when they are long, see below.

## Vowel Lengthenings

Here we have in mind two processes, namely 1) lengthening of the vowels *e* and *a* in stressed syllables and 2) vowel lengthening due to the loss of a nasal in certain environments. These two processes will be described in the following.

### 1. Lengthening of *e* and *a* in Stressed Syllables

On p. 26 f. the vowels of Standard Lithuanian were presented. Many cases of /æ:/ and /ɑ:/ result from secondary lengthening of /ɛ/ and /a/. This lengthening occurs only in stressed syllables, cf. for example nom. sg. *namas* [ˈnɑ:mas] 'house' vs. thę acc. pl. *namus* [naˈmus], nom. sg. m. *geras* [ˈgæ:ras] 'good' : acc. pl. m. *gerus* [gɛˈrus], *geria* [ˈgæ:rʲɛ] 'drinks' : *geriu* [gɛˈrʲu] 'I drink', *kala* [ˈkɑ:ɫa] 'forges' : *kalu* [kaˈɫu] 'I forge', *veda* [ˈvʲæ:da] 'leads' : *vedu* [vʲɛˈdu] 'I lead', *tapo* [ˈtɑ:po:] 'became' (3 sg./pl.) : *tapau* [taˈpau] 'I became', *sensacija* [sʲɛnˈsɑ:tsʲija] 'sensation'. From these examples one might be tempted to conclude that the lengthening in question occurs in *open* stressed syllables. That this is not the case is, however, shown by examples like *keptas* [ˈkʲæ:ptas] 'baked' (part.), *raktas* [ˈrɑ:ktas] 'key', *kapsto* [ˈkɑ:psto] 'digs up' : *kapstyti* [kapˈstʲi:tʲɪ] 'to dig' with lengthening in closed syllables.

The vowels lengthened according to this paragraph will always have circumflex intonation, cf. p. 34 below. That we have to do with secondary lengthening is seen both from the type of intonation and the quality of the vowels which is [æ:] and [ɑ:]

respectively thus corresponding quite neatly with the quality of the short vowels on the basis of which they were lengthened, radically different from the "originally" long [e:] and [o:]

Observe that lengthening does *not* take place in infinitive forms, cf. *vesti* [ˈvʲɛsʲtʲi] 'to lead', *tapti* [ˈtaptʲɪ] 'to become'. Nor does it occur in future tense forms, e. g. *nešiu* [ˈnʲɛʃu] 'I'll carry', *rasiu* [ˈraʂu] 'I'll find', nor on an accented verb prefix (including the negation *ne*), cf., for example *pameta* [ˈpamʲɛta] 'throws', *neneša* [ˈnʲɛnʲɛʃa] 'doesn't carry'. It is further absent in the comparative suffix *-esn-* (*geresnis* [gʲɛˈrʲɛsʲnʲɪs] 'better') as well as in the masc. sg. nom. of the so-called pronominal adjective (*gerasis* [gʲɛˈraʂɪs] 'good'). Finally, the possessive pronouns *mano* [ˈmano] 'my', *tavo* [ˈtavo] 'your', *savo* [ˈsavo] 'his/her/its' should be mentioned.

For foreign words it seems difficult to give adequate guidelines.

**2. Compensatory Lengthening due to Loss of Nasal**

There is still another case of secondary vowel lengthening which may be referred to as the "nasalization rule". Contrary to the lengthening rule described in the preceding paragraph this rule has an effect not only on *e* and *a*, but also on *i* and *u*.

The lengthening occurs independently of stress in the following environments: a) before non-plosives (non-stops) or b) in word-final position. The process must have been as follows: in a sequence *vowel+n* in one of the two environments just mentioned, the *n* has merged with the preceding vowel to form a long nasalized vowel which is subsequently denasalized.

The resulting long vowels are written with a *cedilla* (¸) which indicates their origin in the sequences **en, *an, *in* and **un*. It is important to emphasize that these vowels are nasalized only from a historical point of view and that the orthography is based on an etymological principle. *In to-day's Lithuanian they have a pure oral articulation*. Observe that the *ę* has the same open articulation [æ:] as the *e* which results from the secondary lengthening in stressed syllables described in the preceding paragraph.

Examples:

*spręsti* [ˈsp̪ræ:sʲtʲɪ] 'to decide' vs. *sprendžia* [ˈsp̪rɛndʒa] 'decides', *dirbę* [ˈdʲɪrbʲæ:] 'having worked' (pret.part.act.m.pl.); *žąsìs* [ʒɑ:ˈsʲɪs] 'goose', *namą* [ˈnɑ:mɑ:] 'house' (acc. sg. m.), the prefix *są-* [ˈsɑ:] in *sąskaita* 'bill', *sąžinė* 'conscience', *sąjunga* 'union', *sąvoka* 'notion, conception', *sąrašas* 'list', *sąlyga* 'condition', *sąauga* 'coalescence' as opposed to *san-* [san-] in *santaka* 'confluence'; *akį* [ˈɑ:kʲi:] 'eye' (acc.sg.m.), the prefix *į-* [ˈi:] in *įmonė* 'enterprise', *įvadas* 'introduc-

tion' vs. [ˈin-] in *indas* 'vessel; dish'; *sūnų* [ˈsu:nu:] 'son' (acc. sg.m.), *siųsti* [ˈʂu:ʂʏɪ] 'to send' vs. *siunčia* [ˈʂʊnʧɛ] 'sends'. In cases like *šąla* 'grows cold' vs. *šalo* 'grew cold' the system points to the presence of a former nasal infix in the present tense of this verb, cf. *kri-n-ta* 'falls' with preserved nasal infix before a stop vs. *krito* 'fell').

Unlike the lengthened vowels described in the preceding paragraph the intonational pattern (see p. 34) of "nasalized" vowels is not predictable. Both acute and circumflex occur.

In loanwords like *sensacija* 'sensation' as well as in native compounds of the type *gyvensena* 'mode of living' the sequence *V+n* is tolerated before a non-stop. The same holds good before certain morphemes like the *-s-* of the future tense (cf. for instance *gyvensiu* 'I will be living') and the present tense suffix *-st-* (e.g. *sen-st-a* 'grows old'). Neither is there any absolute constraint against the sequence *V+n* in word-final position, cf. for example *šiandien* 'to-day' and *ten* 'there'. In the last two cases the *n* has become secondarily word-final due to the loss of a vowel.

## Diphthongs

Lihuanian has quite a rich inventory of diphthongs. They occur both in stressed and unstressed syllables. The most frequent are:

*ei, ai, ui, au, ie, uo.*

These spellings reflect their orthographic representation. The diphthong *ei* is somewhat problematic since it is difficult to define when an open and when a closed *e* should be pronounced before the glide [i̯]. Also the timbre of the first component in *ai* may differ between words of seemingly the same phonological structure. The length of the first component in *ei* and *ai* will vary according to the intonational pattern (cf. below). The same holds good for *au*. In *ui* the first component is always short. The *ie* is kind of diphthong beginning with [i] which becomes gradually more open. It is often pronounced [iə] (with a closed [i], not the open [ɪ]). The diphthongal *uo* is frequently realized as [uə] (with the closed [u]).

Examples:

*eiti* 'to go', *kaina* 'price', *muilas* 'soap', *namui* 'house' (dat. sg.), *saulė* 'sun', *namie* 'at home', *duoti* 'to give'.

One observes the lack of parallelism between the *i*-diphthongs *ei* and *ai* which are opposed to *au* only, and not also **eu* which is marginal

and met with exclusively in borrowings like, for example, *Europa, eufonija* 'euphony'. For *au* after soft consonants, see p. 103.

In words of foreign origin one will also find *oi-* and *ou-* diphthongs, e. g. *boikotas* 'boycott', *klounas* 'clown'.

The diphthongs mentioned so far are labeled "pure diphthongs" as opposed to the so-called "mixed diphthongs" or "semi-diphthongs" which are constituted by sequences of a vowel (*e, a, i* or *u*) + a sonorant (*r, l, m* or *n*).

Examples:

*versti* 'overthrow', *gardas* 'enclosure', *baltas* 'white', *remti* 'to support', *ranka* 'hand; arm', *gimti* 'be born', *girti* 'to praise', *kurti* 'to found'.

For the arguments in favour of giving such sequences the status of diphthongs, see p. 33 below.

## VOWEL ALTERNATIONS
*(Ablaut)*

Beside the automatic palatal assimilative colouring of vowels following a soft consonant (which is perhaps most clearly heard in the case of *a*, cf. for instance *čià* [ʧʲɛ] :'here' vs. *čardašas* 'czardas' [ʧa-]) we are faced with the real vowel alternations known in the linguistic literature as *ablaut* (Lithuanian *balsių kaita)* which has been inherited from IE and survived and proved productive in the Baltic period where we can also observe a number of obviously secondary cases of *ablaut* alternations.

Examples of *ablaut* alternations in the Lithuanian verb : *i - e - i (vilkti : velka : vilko* 'carry, drag'*), ō - a - ō (vogti : vagia : vogė* 'steal'*), a - ā - ō (karti : karia : kórė* 'hang'*, i - i - ī (skirti : skiria : skyrė* 'separate'*), u : u : ū (kurti : kuria : kūrė* 'found, organize'*), ū : u : ū (pūsti : pučia : pūtė* 'blow').

As illustrations of *ablaut* in the system of nouns and in nominal word formation may serve: *gražus* 'beautiful' : *grožis* 'beauty'.

The result of an evidently secondary Baltic development is the diphthong *-ai-* in cases like *gainioti* 'to chase' versus *ginti : gena : ginė* 'chase, drive'. The same holds good for cases like *kilti : kyla : kilo* 'rise, get up' where the *ī* (in the orthography represented as *y*) derives from **in*, cf. p. 29 above. In *geria* 'drink(s) : *gėrė* 'drank' an older *quantitative* [e] : [e:] alternation has been replaced by a new *qualitative* [æ:] : [e:] due to the lengthening of an originally short *e* in a stressed syllable (cf. p. 28).

## Suprasegmentals

We will deal here with the three prosodemes *stress, quantity and tone (pitch).* Only quantity is reflected in the orthography. Stress and tone are indicated only for special purposes - scientific or pedagogical - in dictionaries, grammars and textbooks of Lithuanian. In ordinary texts (newspapers, periodicals, fiction etc.) symbols for tone and stress are not used.

In the following stress and tone will be given, but only when single words and word forms are quoted, not in word groups or sentences.

### Stress

*(Kirtìs)*

Word stress in Lithuanian is free in the sense that it is not bound to any specific syllable, but can vary in different forms in the declension and conjugation. It can also have distinctive value whereby stress alone can distinguish between words, cf. for instance *giria* [ˈgʲɪɽɛ] 'praises' : *giria* [gɪˈɽɛ] 'forest' which form so-called *minimal pairs.* Stress may be said to be morphologically distinctive in cases like gen. sg. *žiemos* [ʒʲiemˈo:s]] vs. nom. pl. *žiemos* [ˈʒʲiemo:s] 'winter', inf. *nuskusti* [nuˈskusʲtɪ] 'to shave' vs. pret. part. pass. nom. pl. m. *nuskusti* [nuskuʂˈtɪ] 'shaven'. In order to account for certain movements of stress it is practical and necessary also to introduce the two remaining prosodemes.

### Quantity

*(Kiekýbė)*

As has become evident from the exposition above Lithuanian contrasts short and long vowels. The duration of the vowels depends in Lithuanian as in many languages on the manner of articulation. Both in stressed and unstressed position the short vowels *a* and *e* are longer than the vowels *i* and *u* (Pakerys 1982, 191).

Among the diphthongs *ui* is the shortest since it contains two high vowels. The duration of the semi-diphthongs (see p. 31 above) depends on the quality of both components.

The longest semi-diphthongs are those containing low *a, e* and the nasal sonorants *m, n* under acute intonation (see next point).

Like stress, quantity can also have distinctive function, cf., for example *kasti* 'to dig' and *kąsti* 'to bite'.

## Tone

*Príegaidė*

Tone (pitch or syllable accent) is discernable in Standard Lithuanian only in *stressed long syllables*. A long syllable is a syllable which contains a long vowel or a diphthong (including semi-diphthongs). Here the so-called *acute* (marked with an ´ above the vowel) can be opposed to the *circumflex* (written ~ above a vowel or one of the sonorants *r, l, m, n*): *áukštas* 'high': *aũkštas* 'storey', *várna* 'crow' : *vařnas* 'raven', *ėdė* 'ate' : *dẽdė*.

Whereas the acute has a falling pitch and intensity contour, the contour of the circumflex is mainly rising. Lengthening of the components in diphthongs can be demonstrated by the pair [vɑ·rna] vs. [vař·nas].

Really long (tautosyllabic) diphthongs (type **vaːrna*) do not exist (any longer) in Lithuanian. The existence of long diphthongs would also have let us expect forms like **kórti* for *kárti* 'to hang', cf. the pret. *kórė* with [ō] < [*ā].

Observe that circumflexed monophthongs are longer than acuted ones.

The *grave* ( ` ) occurs exclusively on short vowels and therefore does not denote tone, only stress: *kìtas* 'other', *bùtas* 'flat', *nèšti* 'carry', *ràsti* 'find', *chòras* 'choir'.

As demonstrated through *minimal pairs* like the above mentioned *áukštas* : *aũkštas,* tone can be distinctive in Lithuanian.

Beside the bipartite tone system of Standard Lithuanian distinguishing the acute and the circumflex certain Žemaitic dialects also possess a third tone, the so-called *broken tone* (which may be conceived as a variant of the acute). The pitch contour of the acute, circumflex or the broken tone varies according to the dialect.

The question of the origin of the tones in Baltic has been much debated. One should for the tonogenesis probably distinguish between word-internal and word-final position since the distinction between acute and circumflex in the former position seems to be the result of a specific Baltic (or rather Balto-Slavic) development possibly due to compensatory lengthening after the loss of a laryngeal in structures of the type CVRHC- (as for instance in *gérti* 'to drink') which ultimately yielded the acute of Standard Lithuanian. Such acute diphthongs were opposed to circumflexed diphthongs of normal duration (cf. for instance *vařnas* 'raven'). Still another source of acuted diphthongs is found in the so-called nominal *vrddhi*, e. g. *várna* 'crow' (< **vārna*) : *vařnas* '(black) raven'. Also the *Dehnstufe* (long grade) of word-internal monophthongs is expected to show an acute intonation, cf. for example *sė́sti (sė́da, sė́do)* 'to sit down' vs. short *e in the same word-etymon in Germanic, but also the circumflex is encountered in certain morphological classes, e. g. *lõbis* 'wealth, treasure',

which is due to so-called *metatony (: lãbas)* 'wealth', *sõdas* 'garden' (probably borrowing from Slavic). For circumflex in the case of secondarily lengthened *e* (e. g. *gẽras* 'good') and *a* (e. g. *gãlas* 'end'), cf. p. 28 f. above.

In *word-final position* circumflex seems to have developed from vowel contraction, cf. for example the gen. sg.-*os* of the *ā*-stems, *žiemõs* 'winter', probably reflecting **a-es (-eH-es)* in opposition to the nom. sg. in *-a* (from **-ā (eH): žiemà).*

## Stress Movements

Lithuanian can have mobile stress both in forms belonging to the nominal and the verbal system.

### 1. Stress Movements triggered by de Saussure's Law

The notion of *morae* is fruitful in the description of Lithuanian phonology. According to this principle a long vowel or a (tautosyllabic) diphthong can be said to consist of two *morae*. Trimoric syllables (i. e. long tautosyllabic diphthongs or overlong monophthongs) are (but for some special cases) not tolerated in Lithuanian and have been subject to shortening. We regard a *mora* rather as an abstract and mathematical unit than an entity which has a constant and definable physical duration.

According to *de Saussure's Law* (which operated at an earlier stage of Lithuanian) an *acute syllable attracted the ictus (stress) from an immediately preceding circumflex or short syllable*, which explains the shift of stress between, for example, the nom. sg., the instr. sg. and the acc. pl. in cases like *rãtas : ratù : ratùs* 'wheel', *nãmas : namù : namùs* 'house' vs. *výras : výru : výrus* 'man', *lángas : lángu : lángus* 'window', between the gen. sg., the nom./instr. sg. and the acc. pl. in *rañkos : rankà : rankàs* 'hand, arm' vs. absent of accent shift in *várnos : várna : várnas* 'crow' in the nominal declension and stress movements in the verb system between the the 3 sg./pl., 1 and 2 pl. on the one side and 1 and 2 sg. on the other in *vẽda, vẽdame, vẽdate : vedù, vedì* (: *vèsti* 'to lead'), *gìna, gìname, gìnate : ginù, ginì* (: *gìnti* 'to defend, protect'), *gyvẽna, gyvẽname, gyvẽnate : gyvenù, gyvenì* (: *gyvénti* 'to live') vs. *vérgiu, vérgi, vérgia* (: *vérgti* 'become poor') with immobile accent. The idea behind this is that the final syllable which attracted the *ictus* in the above examples was a long acute (**-úo, -íe, -ā́*).

F. de Saussure's law implies the existence of former tonal oppositions also in unaccented syllables, a situation which Kuryłowicz (1957 and 1968) found unlikely mainly for typological reasons and which therefore led him to reformulate the law. However, there is evidence both from Lithuanian dialects and Latvian in support of such a typology. Thus, the law can be maintained in its original formulation. Nor do we also have to reformulate as Kuryłowicz did Leskien's law according to which a shortening of **ā́ > a, *íe > ì, *úo > u* took place in word-final acute syllables thus

obscuring the environment for de Saussure's law, cf., for instance nom. sg. *rankà* (not **rankó*) vs. gen. sg. *rañkos*. Original acute monosyllabics are as a rule not subject to Leskien's law, but undergo a shift from acute to circumflex intonation which is referred to as *metatony*, a term coined by de Saussure whereby they retain their length, cf. for example *važiuoti tuõ* (metatony) *autobusù* 'to go by that bus' (not **tu autobusu*) with the instrumental reflecting a desinence in **ó* both in the pronoun and the noun. For special cases such as the 3. sg. future tense, see p. 107 below.

Being originally a phonological law, in today's Lithuanian de Saussure's law is not automatically implemented in all cases where it might be expected to operate from a historical point of view. In modern Standard Lithuanian there are (due to analogy) exceptions to the law both in inflection and derivation which will be commented upon in the appropriate places. In the colloquial language of Vilnius (and elsewhere) such cases are particularly numerous, but as our concern is limited to the Standard language alone they are beyond the scope of the present book.

**2. Stress Movements not Originating from de Saussure's Law**

Mobility resulting from de Saussure's law is restricted to movement of stress between two syllables which follow immediately upon each other as for instance in *rãtas* (nom. sg.) *: ratù* (instr. sg.) 'wheel'. Before de Saussure's law started to operate in Lithuanian the stress in all forms of this paradigm rested on the first syllable. Thus, the *rãtas*-paradigm was originally immobile. There is, however, another type of mobility which existed *before* the implementation of de Saussure's law which could be labeled "real (or: old) mobility". The noun *lángas* 'window' with an acuted root may serve as an illustration. It is end-stressed in all forms of the plural except the accusative. In polysyllabics "real" mobility is not restricted to movement of stress from one syllable to the next, but it could "leap" across unaccented syllables, cf. for instance a case like nom. sg. *auksakalỹs* : acc. sg. *áuksakalį* 'jeweller'. In the plural end syllables are stressed according to the same pattern as the bisyllabic *lángas*. Such "real mobility" is encountered in certain prefixed verb forms (see p. 97 below) as well as in nouns following what is referred to as accent type 3. Type 4 nouns which have circumflex roots, show the mobility of 3 with the superposition of de Saussure's law; they are [+ mobile] and [+ de Saussure] whereas class 3 can be described as [+ mobile / - de Saussure].

## Symbols for designating Accent Classes

In dictionaries and handbooks of Lithuanian the numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4 are commonly used to designate the stress patterns encountered in the nominal word classes of Lithuanian. The symbols 3 and 4 have been

explained in the preceding paragraph. Numbers 1 and 2 stand for [- mobile /- de Saussure] and [- mobile / + de Saussure] respectively. Further, the symbol $3^{a}$ stands for accent class 3 with acute in a trisyllabic noun whereas $3^{4a}$ (type *auksakalỹs, áuksakalį*) signalizes accent class 3 with acute in a quadrisyllabic. For mobile circumflex and short tri- and quadrisyllabics the symbols $3^{b}$ (e. g. *kãtinas* 'cat', *vyturỹs* 'lark') and $3^{4b}$ (e. g. *pasiuntinỹs* 'ambassador', *iškyšulỹs* 'salient part') are used. Accent class 4 is impossible with tri- and quadrisyllabic nouns. Thus, there is no need for symbols like, for example, $4^{a}$ or $4^{4b}$.

# Chapter 2

# THE NOUN

*(Daiktãvardis)*

## Grammatical Categories

The Lithuanian noun has the following grammatical categories:

1) gender
2) number
3) case

### 1. Gender

*(Giminẽ)*

Lithuanian distinguishes between two genders: the *masculine* and the *feminine*. To be exact, there are some marginal residuary forms reflecting the old neuter in impersonal constructions of the type *šiandien yra šilta* 'to-day it is warm', see pp. 38, 44 ff. and 186 below.

*Nouns* are said to have an *inherent* gender. It is expressed through agreement with modifiers (i. e. adjectives, participles, certain pronouns and numerals). The rules for the determination of the gender of Lithuanian nouns are relatively simple since there is a high degree of harmony between form and gender. Thus, nouns with a nom. sg. in *-as, -ys, -us* and *-uo* (with the exception of *sesuõ* 'sister') are masculine whereas nouns in *-a* and *-ė* are feminine except for those few *-a* and *-ė* nouns which refer to *male* persons where the gender is determined by the biological gender (sex), for examples see p. 39. We are then left with nouns in *-is* which are masculine if the genitive is in *-io*, but feminine in most cases with a genitive in *-ies*. Also the gender of indeclinable nouns (p. 50 f.) can be determined by simple rules.

Finally, it could be added that masculine nouns in *-as, -us* denoting occupations and the like are regularly opposed to feminines in *-ė* (*-a* after *j*), e. g. *pedagògas : pedagogė, mókytojas : mókytoja* 'teacher', *profèsorius : profèsorė*. When sex is unmarked, the masculine

form is used: *mūsų kaime yra naujas gydytojas* 'in our village there is a new physician'.

### 2. Number

*(Skaĩčius)*

Two numbers are distinguished in modern Standard Lithuanian - singular and plural. Some dialects have also preserved the dual, which the student can see in certain texts, especially older writings.

A peculiarity of Lithuanian - together with Latvian - is the richness in plural nouns (so-called *pluralia tantum*, see below).

### 3. Case

*(Liñksnis)*

There are six cases in Lithuanian: the nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental and locative. In the singular the noun also has a specific form for the vocative. In the plural the vocative is always identical with the nominative.

Beside the above cases Old Lithuanian possessed a number of secondary local cases (illative, allative, and adessive), probably modelled after a Balto-Finnic pattern. Of these only the illative has survived in Lithuanian dialects (especially in the East and South). In the modern literary language the illative can be encountered as a means of stylistic variation. In some cases as for instance in *(eiti) laukañ* '(go) out' (literally: 'into the field') it has been adverbialized. It is formed by adding the particle (originally probably postposition) *-n(a)* to the (unshortened vowel of the) accusative (sg. and pl.), whereas the particle/postposition *-pie* was suffixed to the genitive and the (old) locative to form the allative and the adessive respectively. The Lithuanian locative genetically represents an inessive which has replaced the old inherited IE locative. The old locative has survived only in certain adverbialized forms, like for example *namiẽ* 'at home'. Contrary to the Finno-Ugric model of concrete (place) cases Baltic does not show traces of a postpositional ablative or elative, expressing movement *away from* or *out of*. For these functions Baltic uses prepositions (*nuõ* and *iš*) followed by the genitive.

## Declensional Types

The Lithuanian noun is usually grouped in 5 classes, or *declensions*. Each declension has a set of specific endings or desinences which constitute a paradigm.

The *first declension* consists exclusively of *masculine* nouns. It is characterized through *-as* in the nominative sg. with three subsets in *-ias*, *-is* and *-ys*. The genitive is in *-(i)o*.

Examples:

*výras*, gen. *výro* 'man', *kẽlias* [= ķeļɛs], soft variant, cf. p. 4 above], gen. *kẽlio* 'road, path', *arklỹs*, gen. *árklio* 'horse', *peĩlis*, gen. *peĩlio* 'knife'.

Nouns of the first declension in *-tis* or *-dis* show consonant shift in certain forms according to p. 24, e. g. *tẽ̃tis* : gen. sg. *tẽ̃čio* 'dad', *pósėdis* : gen. sg. *pósėdžio* 'meeting'.

From an IE point of view nouns of this class are labeled *o*-stems (Baltic/Lithuanian *a*-stems) and *-(i)jo*-stems.

The *second declension* has *-a* or *-ė* in the nominative sg. and consists of *feminines* except for the few common and proper nouns in *-a/-ė* which designate male persons (e. g. *barzdylà* 'bearded person', *Jogáila, Daukšà, Póška, dẽdė* 'uncle', *Krėvẽ*) or nouns in *-a* capable of expressing either gender (e. g. *kolegà, válkata* 'vagabond', *elgeta* 'pauper').

Examples of ordinary feminine nouns in this declension: *várna* 'crow', *dvasià* 'breath', *gerklẽ̃* 'throat'.

Nouns of the second declension are from a historical point of view called *ā*-stems (Lithuanian *o*-stems, see p. 44 f.). *ė*-stems may be said to be characteristic of the Baltic languages. They may be said to form a subgroup of the *ā*-nouns (parallelling the *-ys/-is*-nouns of the 1. declension) and lack clear parallels in other IE languages. Two words (*martì* 'daughter-in-law; bride' and *patì* 'wife') have the ending *-i* in the nom. sg. whereas the endings of the oblique cases are identical to the ordinary 2nd declension nouns.

The *third declension* consists of feminines and a few masculines in *-is*. In order to distinguish this class formally from the *-is* subgroup of the first declension, it is necessary to look also at the genitive sg. which is in *-ies* in the third declension vs. *-io* in the first. Feminine and masculine nouns of this declension differ in the dative sg (see p. 45).

Examples of third declension nouns:

*akìs*, gen. *akiẽs* (F) 'eye', *dantìs*, gen. *dantiẽs* (M) 'tooth'.

Historically third declension nouns represent IE *i*-stems. The group also contains some original consonant stems (cf. the fifth declension below) which explains some divergences in the genitive pl. (see p. 46 below).

The *fourth declension* is characterized by *-us* in the nominative sg. They are all masculine. Examples: *sūnùs* 'son', *turgus* 'market'. Like the 1st and 2nd declension this declension contains a soft subgroup: *profèsorius* [-oŗus] 'professor', *skaĩčius* 'number', *pavõjus* 'danger'.

From a historical point of view *-us* nouns are referred to as *u*-stems.

The *fifth declension* contains a relatively small number of masculine nouns in *-uõ*, e. g. *šuõ* 'dog', *akmuõ* 'stone' plus two feminine nouns, *sesuõ* 'sister' and *duktẽ* 'daughter'. The gen. sg. is in *-s*, cf. *šuñ-s, akmeñ-s, seseř-s, dukteř-s* which is added to a stem different from that of the nominative.

Dependent on the consonant preceding the *-s* these nouns are from a historical point of view labeled *n*- and *r*-stems. The Lithuanian consonant stems have cognates in other IE languages.

## First Declension

*Paradigms with Comments*

The different subtypes will become apparent from the following paradigms:

| | | a (1) 'man' | b (4) 'road' | c (4) 'guest' | d (2) 'tree' | e (3) 'horse' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SG | N | výras | kẽlias | svẽčias | mẽdis | arklỹs |
| | G | výro | kẽlio | svẽčio | mẽdžio | árklio |
| | D | výrui | kẽliui | svẽčiui | mẽdžiui | árkliui |
| | A | výrą | kẽlią | svẽčią | mẽdį | árklį |
| | I | výru | keliù | svečiù | medžiù | árkliu |
| | L | výre | kelyjè | svetyjè | mẽdyje | arklyjè |
| | V | výre! | kelỹ! | svetỹ! | mẽdi! | arklỹ! |
| PL | N | výrai | keliaĩ | svečiaĩ | mẽdžiai | arkliaĩ |
| | G | výrų | kelių̃ | svečių̃ | mẽdžių̃ | arklių̃ |
| | D | výrams | keliáms | svečiáms | mẽdžiams | arkliáms |
| | A | výrus | keliùs | svečiùs | medžiùs | árklius |
| | I | výrais | keliaĩs | svečiaĩs | mẽdžiais | arkliaĩs |
| | L | výruose | keliuosè | svečiuosè | mẽdžiuose | arkliuosè |

According to p. 38 above the vocative plural is identical with the nominative plural.

Paradigm a) may be considered basic in contrast to b), c), d) and e), which can be regarded as subtypes of a). The soft b-paradigm (stem [keļ-]) is almost identical with a). Only the locative and vocative sg. are different. The same holds good for c), which according to p. 24 shows an alternation *t : č*. Paradigm d) illustrates the parallel shift between *d*

and *dž*. In addition it deviates from the b) and c) pattern in the nom. and voc. sg. Paradigms d) and e) differ only in the nom. and voc. sg.

The *vocative* sg. of the 1st declension needs a special comment because there are several endings, viz. *-e, -i, -y, -au* and *-ai*. The distribution is as follows: *-e* (or *-ai*, see next passage) is used if the nominative sg. is in *-as* (cf. the a-paradigm: *výre*), *-i* is used with nouns in *-ias* of the 1st and 2nd accent patterns (e. g. *élni : élnias* 'reindeer') as well as with nouns in *-is* (*mẽdi, bróli : mẽdis, brólis*) whereas *-y* is the rule with nouns in *-ias* of the 3rd and 4th accent patterns (e. g. *svetỹ : svẽčias*) and nouns in *-ys* (e. g. *arkly : arklỹs*). With nouns in *-jas* the vocative ending is *-au*, e. g. *mókytojau* (: *mókytojas* 'teacher').

The voc. sg. in *-ai* is limited to paradigm a). It is frequently used with animate nouns, especially proper names, for example *Antãnai,* not **Antãne* (which is obsolete). Note further the contrast *Strãzdai!* (surname) : *strãzde!* 'thrush' (: *S/strãzdas*). The word *põnas* 'sir; Mr.' has the vocative in *-e*, not *-ai: põne Strãzdai!* (or more frequently *põnas Strãzdai!* with *põnas* in the nominative before the vocative of the proper name).

Finally, it should be observed that there is an important subtype in *-jas*, e. g. *mókytojas* 'teacher' and *kepẽjas* 'baker', which has borrowed its vocative from the *-jus* stems (cf. the 4th declension below and the rules for vocative endings just given): *mókytojau, kepẽjau!* Note that even the locative sg. in this type is formed in accordance with the fourth declension: *mókytojuje, kepẽjuje*. Also *vẽjas* 'wind' and *kraũjas* 'blood' may be treated this way.

The noun *petỹs* (older form *petìs*) 'shoulder' has an irregular genitive sg. in *-iẽs* (since it originally belonged to the 3rd declension), but is otherwise declined according to the 1st declension, i. e. *pẽčiui, pẽtį, pečiù* (or *petimì*), *petyjè, petỹ*, pl. *pečiaĩ, pečių̃* etc.

Historically paradigm a) reflects IE *o*-stems - cf. p. 39 -, b) and c) *jo*-stems whereas d) and e) reflect *-ijo-* stems. The nom. sg. balt. **-ijas* has developed into *-ys* under stress and *-is* in unstressed position. The details in this process are not clear. In the other forms of the paradigm (with the exception of the voc.) the endings are the same as in a) - c). For IE cognates of the endings, see handbooks on historical morphology (= bibliography p. 113 ff.).

**Reflexive Nouns**

Like Latvian (and Polish) Lithuanian also possesses a number of reflexive (deverbative) nouns. In Lithuanian they are restricted to the 1st declension and end in *-Vmasis* (cf. p. 166 f. below), e. g. *kreipìmasis* 'address' (: *kreĩptis* 'to address oneself' : *kreĩpti* 'turn'). Such nouns are declined as follows:

| SG | | PL |
|---|---|---|
| N | kreipìmas-is | kreipìmai-si |
| G | kreipìmo-si | kreipìmų-si |
| D | kreipìmui-si | |
| A | kreipìmą-si | |
| I | kreipìmu-si | |
| L | kreipìme-si | |

In the plural only the nom. and the gen. pl. seem to be used: *mūsų kreipimaisi į Lietuvos vyriausybę davė rezultatų:* [...] 'our appeals to the Lithuanian government gave as results: [...]'; *dėl mūsų kreipimųsi į Lietuvos vyriausybę* 'on account of our appeals to the Lithuanian government'.

Note that the hyphen in the above paradigm is not encountered in the orthography; it is used here only as a pedagogical device to show the similarity with the inflection of the non-reflexive nouns. As illustrated through the above paradigm the reflexive element is in *-is* after a consonant, *-si* after a vowel.

**Accentuation**

According to the principles set out (p. 35 f.) we expect four different accent paradigms, which are commonly referred to as 1), 2), 3) and 4), cf. above. As can be seen from the tables (p. 40), they are all realized in the first declension.

The paradigms already given could suffice for illustration. However, for the sake of clarity we choose to present a more detailed picture with both the *as*-type (1-4) and the subclasses in *-is* (=1 & 2) and *-ys* (=3 & 4).

| | | 1 (-mob/-de S.) | 2 (-mob./+ de S.) | 3 (+mob.-de S.) | 4 (+mob./+de S.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 'man' | 'wheel' | 'window' | 'house' |
| SG | N | výras | rãtas | lángas | nãmas |
| | G | výro | rãto | lángo | nãmo |
| | D | výrui | rãtui | lángui | nãmui |
| | A | výrą | rãtą | lángą | nãmą |
| | I | výru | *ratù* | lángu | *namù* |
| | L | výre | ratè | langè | namè |
| PL | N | výrai | rãtai | langaĩ | namaĩ |
| | G | výrų | rãtų | langų̃ | namų̃ |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| D | výrams | rãtams | langáms | namáms |
| A | výrus | *ratùs* | lángus | *namùs* |
| I | výrais | rãtais | langaĩs | namaĩs |
| L | výruose | rãtuose | languosè | namuosè |

Forms (i. e. the instr. sg. and acc. pl.) in which de Saussure's law (p. 34 f.) has operated are given in italics. Other types of accent shifts will be evident from a comparison between paradigms 1 and 3.

The same principles of accentuation are also implemented in the subtypes. The subtype in *-is* is represented by class 1 and 2 nouns whereas the end-stressed *-ys* variant is encountered in 3 and 4. Examples:

| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 'brother' | 'bird' | 'horse' | 'woodpecker' |
| SG | N | brólis | paũkštis | arklỹs | genỹs |
| | G | brólio | paũkščio | árklio | gẽnio |
| | D | bróliui | paũkščiui | árkliui | gẽniui |
| | A | brólį | paũkštį | árklį | gẽnį |
| | I | bróliu | *paukščiù* | árkliu | *geniù* |
| | L | brólyje | paũkštyje | arklyjè | genyjè |
| | V | bróli! | paũkšti! | arklỹ! | genỹ! |
| PL | N | bróliai | paũkščiai | arkliaĩ | geniaĩ |
| | G | brólių | paũkščių | arklių̃ | genių̃ |
| | D | bróliams | paũkščiams | arkliáms | geniáms |
| | A | brólius | *paukščiùs* | árklius | *geniùs* |
| | I | bróliais | paũkščiais | arkliaĩs | geniaĩs |
| | L | bróliuose | paũkščiuose | arkliuosè | geniuosè |

For supplementary information on the accentuation of the vocative forms, see examples in connection with formational rules of the vocative (p. 41 above).

So far only nouns which are bisyllabic in the nom. sg. have been mentioned. As examples of tri- and quadrisyllabics we can quote the following: *beržýnas* (1) 'birch grove', *brolẽlis* (2) '(little) brother', *dóbilas* ($3^a$) 'clover', *auksakalỹs* ($3^{4a}$) 'jeweller'. In *dóbilas* and *auksakalỹs* the stress moves between the first and the last syllable, e. g. nom. sg. *dóbilas* : nom. pl. *dobilaĩ*. The last syllable is stressed in the locative sg. and all cases except the accusative in the plural.

Symbols like $3^a$ and $3^{4a}$ are explained on p. 36 above.

## Second Declension

*Paradigms with Comments*

The different types will become apparent from the following paradigms:

| | | a (1) 'crow' | b (2) 'breath' | c (4) 'daughter-in-law' | d (3) 'throat' | e (4) 'cat' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SG | N | várna | *dvasià* | martì | gerklẽ | katẽ |
| | G | várnos | dvãsios | marčiõs | gerklẽs | kãtẽs |
| | D | várnai | dvãsiai | mařčiai | gérklei | kãtei |
| | A | várną | dvãsią | mařčią | gérklę | kãtę |
| | I | várna | *dvasià* | *marčià* | gérkle | *katè* |
| | L | várnoje | dvãsioje | marčiojè | gerklėjè | katėjè |
| | V | várna! | dvãsia! | mařčia/ martì! | gérkle! | kãte! |
| PL | N | várnos | dvãsios | mařčios | gérklės | kãtės |
| | G | várnų | dvãsių | marčių̃ | gerklių̃ | kačių̃ |
| | D | várnoms | dvãsioms | marčióms | gerklėms | katėms |
| | A | várnas | *dvasiàs* | *marčiàs* | gérkles | *katès* |
| | I | várnomis | dvãsiomis | marčiomìs | gerklėmìs | katėmìs |
| | L | várnose | dvãsiose | marčiosè | gerklėsè | katėsè |
| | V=N | | | | | |

The *dvasià*-type illustrates the soft variant of the basic hard paradigm represented by *várna* in the above diagram, cf. [*va·rn-a, va·rn-o:s* etc. : *dvaʂ-ɛ, dvaʂ-o:s* etc.].

In a historical perspective the *dvasià*-class represents **-jā*-stems thus parallelling the *kẽlias*-subtype of the first declension. The *j will change an immediately preceding *t or *d into *č* and *dž* respectively. The *č/dž* will then appear in all forms of the paradigm, and there will be no alternation between *t* and *č*, *d* and *dž*. Therefore it is not necessary to give separate *-čia/džia*-paradigms.

As pointed out (p. 39) there are two nouns ending in *-i* in the nom. sg., namely *martì* and *patì*. The rest of the paradigm follows the *dvasià*-pattern. Observe, however, the *-t-* in the nominative sg. versus *-č-* in the other forms.

The *ė*-stems are a second declension counterpart of the *-is/-ys* subtype of the first declension and seem from a diachronic point of view to reflect *-*ijē* (and/or **-ijā*?). The inflection of the *ė*-stems is basically the same as that of the *várna*-paradigm with the only adjustment that *-ė/e* has to be substituted for *-a-/-o-* throughout the paradigm. Stems in *-tė* and *-dė* in the nom. sg. retain the *-t-/-d-* in all forms except for the genitive pl. which has *-č-/-dž-*.

According to the general rule (p. 38) the vocative pl. is always identical with the nominative. For sg. forms, see above table (p. 44).

**Accentuation**

Here a more economic description will be given than in the case of the nouns of the 1st declension. The words illustrating the different paradigms of the nouns belonging to the second declension (p. 44) have been chosen in such a way that they also show the possible accentuational variations, i.e. the different accent paradigms. Accent patterns 1 and 2 are illustrated through the *várna* and *dvasià* paradigms, 3 and 4 through the *ė*-stems *gerklẽ* and *katẽ*. It is necessary to note only the nom. sg. in *-ė* which is end-stressed (and circumflex) in accent classes 3 and 4 only in contrast to the *-a/ia*-type which has end-stressed nominative forms in classes 2, 3 and 4. The instr. sg. and the acc. pl. are exposed to de Saussure's law in classes 2 and 4 both in the *-(i)a* and *ė*-types and are marked with italics. In the nom. sg. the effect of this law is seen only in *-(i)a* nouns of accent class two.

Examples of polysyllabics are *ādata* (1) 'needle', *sistemà,* nom. pl. *sistèmos* (2) 'system', *dovanà*, nom. pl. *dóvanos* (3[a]) 'gift' and *pabaigà*, nom. pl. *pãbaigos* (4[b]) 'end(ing)'.

# Third Declension

*(i-Stems)*

*Paradigms with Comments:*

| | | F (1) 'quality' | 2: missing | F (3) 'heart' | M (4) 'tooth' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SG | N | rū́šis | | šir̃dis | dantìs |
| | G | rū́šies | | širdiẽs | dantiẽs |
| | D | rūšiai | | šìrdžiai | dañčiui |
| | A | rū́šį | | šìrdį | dañtį |
| | I | rū́šimi | | širdimì (šìrdžia) | dantimì |
| | L | rū́šyje | | širdyjè | dantyjè |
| | V | rū́šie! | | širdiẽ! | dantiẽ! |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PL | N | rū́šys (dùrys) | šìrdys | dañtys |
| | G | rū́šių (dùrų) | širdžių̃ | dantų̃ |
| | D | rū́šims | širdìms | dantìms |
| | A | rū́šis (durìs) | šìrdis | *dantìs* |
| | I | rū́šimis | širdimìs | dantimìs |
| | L | rū́šyse | širdysè | dantysè |
| | V=N | | | |

As pointed out on p. 39 this declension contains both masculines and feminines. The latter are in a majority. The paradigms of the masculines and the feminines are identical - except in the dative sg. where the feminines have adopted the endings of the second declension (cf. the *dvasià*-pattern above) and the masculines the endings of the first declension (the *kẽlias*-subtype).

The endings given in the above paradigm are those of modern Standard Lithuanian. Deviations may be encountered in older writings and dialects. The cases showing the consonant shift *t : č, d : dž* become apparent from the given paradigms.

The *genitive plural* should be mentioned separately since some nouns - independently of their gender - have *-ių* ("soft ending") whereas others have *-ų̃* ('hard ending").

The "hard ending" has been taken over from the consonant stems (see below) because a good number of original consonant stems - due to certain similarities in the development of the types - have joined the *i*-stems.

In addition to *dantų̃* the ending *-ų̃* is also present in *debesų̃* (: *debesìs* 'cloud'), *žąsų̃* (: *žąsìs* 'goose'), *pušų̃* (: *pušìs* 'pine'), *žuvų̃* (: *žuvìs* 'fish'), *naktų̃* (: *naktìs* 'night'), *ausų̃* (: *ausìs* 'ear'), *šaknų̃* (: *šaknìs* 'root').

Since the masculines are in a minority in the third declension some of the most common (in addition to *dantìs*) may be quoted: *vagìs* 'thief', *žvėrìs* 'beast', *debesìs* 'cloud'.

Finally, it should be mentioned that three words (all feminines) can have an alternative ending in the instrumental sg., e. g. *šìrdžia* (: *širdìs* 'heart), *ugnià* (: *ugnìs* 'fire') and *žuvià* (: *žuvìs* 'fish').

**Accentuation**

The accent movements are illustrated through the above paradigms. Accent class 2 seems to be missing (with the sole exception

of the plural noun *dùrys* 'door', see p. 51 f.). Note that de Saussure's law operates only in the acc. pl. (*dantìs* vs. *šìrdis*).

## Fourth Declension

*(u-Stems)*

*Paradigms with Comments:*

| | | 3 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|
| SG | N | sūnùs | profèsorius |
| | G | sūnaũs | profèsoriaus |
| | D | sū́nui | profèsoriui |
| | A | sū́nų | profèsorių |
| | I | sūnumì | profèsoriumi |
| | L | sūnujè | profèsoriuje |
| | V | sūnaũ! | profèsoriau! |
| PL | N | sū́nūs | *profèsoriai* |
| | G | sūnų̃ | *profèsorių* |
| | D | sūnùms | *profèsoriams* |
| | A | sū́nus | *profèsorius* |
| | I | sūnumìs | *profèsoriais* |
| | L | sūnuosè | *profèsoriuose* |

As will be seen from the paradigms the third and fourth declensions are parallel with regard to the endings of the instr. sg. in *-mi* as well as the loc. sg. in *-je*.

As mentioned in the general outline on declensional types above this class is restricted to masculines only.

Note that the subtype in *-ius* (after soft consonants) and *-jus* (after a vowel) follows the pattern of the 4th declension in the sg. only whereas the plural has adopted the endings of the 1st declension. Examples of this subtype other than *profèsorius: vaĩsius* 'fruit', *skaĩčius* 'number', *muziẽjus* 'museum', *pavõjus* 'danger'.

### Accentuation

All four accent classes are respresented. Examples of accent paradigms 2 and 4 (which are not given in the above paradigms) are *tur̃gus* (2) 'market' and *dangùs* (4) 'heaven'. de Saussure's law operates in the acc. pl. only (e. g. *turgùs* vs. *sū́nus*). The differences in stress between the immobile and the mobile paradigm become evident from the comparison between the *sūnùs-* and the *profèsorius*-type.

Nouns belonging to the soft subtype do not show alternation between *t : č, d : dž* since the affricate will be present in all forms - both in sg. and pl., cf. for instance *sõdžius* 'village'.

## Fifth Declension

*(Consonant Stems)*

*Paradigms with Comments:*

| | | M<br>'stone'<br>3 b | M<br>'dog'<br>4 | F<br>'sister'<br>3 b | F<br>'daughter'<br>3 b |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SG | N | akmuõ | šuõ | sesuõ | duktẽ |
| | G | akmeñs | šuñs | seserẽs | dukterẽs |
| | D | ãkmeniui | šùniui | sẽseriai | dùkteriai |
| | A | ãkmenį | šùnį | sẽserį | dùkterį |
| | I | ãkmeniu | šuniù | sẽseria | dùkteria |
| | L | akmenyjè | šunyjè | seseryjè | dukteryjè |
| | V | akmeniẽ! | šuniẽ! | sesuõ | dukteriẽ! |
| PL | N | ãkmenys | šùnys | sẽserys | dùkterys |
| | G | akmenų̃ | šunų̃ | seserų̃ | dukterų̃ |
| | D | akmenìms | šunìms | seserìms | dukterìms |
| | A | ãkmenis | šunìs | sẽseris | dùkteris |
| | I | akmenimìs | šunimìs | seserimìs | dukterimìs |
| | L | akmenysè | šunysè | seserysè | dukterysè |
| | V=N | | | | |

Note the dat. and instr. sg. where the M-nouns have adopted the (soft) 1. declension endings and the F-nouns the (soft) 2. declension endings (for the dative the situation repeats that of the third declension). The interplay of 'soft' and 'hard' endings in the paradigm should be observed. The 'hard' genitive plural is parallelled by the *dantìs*-type of the third declension (cf. above).

The masculine noun *mẽnuo* 'month' follows the pattern of the 5th declension only in the nominative sg. The rest of the paradigm (both sg. and pl.) of this originally *s*-stem noun is that of the 1st declension, i. e. gen. *mẽnesio*, dat. *mẽnesiui* , nom. pl. *mẽnesiai* etc.

Endings deviating from those indicated above may be encountered in older writings as well as in dialects.

In colloquial Lithuanian a paradigm *dukrà, dùkros* etc. is more frequently encountered than that of *duktẽ, dukteřs* etc. Also the vocative *sẽse*! 'sister' (which belongs to the colloquial *sẽsė*-paradigm) is often heard instead of *sesuõ*.

**Accentuation**

Nouns of the fifth declension follow accent paradigm 3 with the exception of *šuõ* which is 4. The symbol 3b indicates a trisyllabic noun with circumflex intonation (cf. p. 36 above).

## Heteroclitics

By heteroclitics can be understood either 1) suppletive paradigms (i. e. alternation of phonemically completely different allomorphs like for instance *good : better* in the English adjectival comparison or *rebënok* 'child', pl. *deti* in the Russian noun declension) or 2) paradigms where the nom. sg. stem deviates from the other stem forms in the paradigm or 3) paradigms where the sg. stem differs from that of the plural. There are no examples of 1) in the Lithuanian noun. 2) may be demonstrated through cases like nom. sg. *akmuõ* vs. the stem *akmen-* elsewhere (p. 48), but such cases are incorporated in the ordinary declensions. Thus, we are left with 3) which seems to be represented by one single lexeme only, namely *žmogùs* 'man' which follows the 4th (*u*-stem) declension in the singular, but the second (*ė*-stem variant) in the plural:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| SG | N | žmogùs |
| | G | žmogaũs |
| | D | žmõgui |
| | A | žmõgų |
| | I | žmogumì |
| | L | žmogujè |
| | V | žmogaũ! |
| PL | N | žmónės |
| | G | žmonių̃ |
| | D | žmonė̃ms |
| | A | žmónes |
| | I | žmonėmìs |
| | L | žmonėsè |

As a possible fourth case of heterocliticism one could think of the discrepancy between 'hard' and 'soft' endings in the gen. pl. of the third declension (*i*-declension), cf. p. 46 above.

## Indeclinables

Words of this group are restricted to *nouns of foreign origin* with a morphological shape which makes it difficult to incorporate them in the mainstream (i. e. declinable) corpus of Lithuanian. Thus, words in (accented and unaccented) *-i*, *-u* and *-o* are not declined. Examples: *taksì*, *lèdi* 'lady', *interviù*, *Bakù*, *metrò*, *krèdo*. The same applies to nouns in *accented -ė (ateljẽ, fojẽ)*.

One might wonder why foreign words in *-ė* do not (automatically) join the second declension. One of the reasons for this seems to be that an analysis in *atelj+ė*, *foj+ė* would violate the very integrity of the word. This piety for foreign words is, however, violated in cases where the source word has an *-o* as, for example, in *Tòkijas* 'Tokio', *Òslas* 'Oslo' (alongside the indeclinable *Òslo*) which are declined according to the first declension. Another city name, Helsinki, has been made declinable by adding an *-s*: *Hel̃sinkis* (gen. *Hel̃sinkio*).

As indeclinables are also treated proper names ending in a consonant when they denote women like, for instance, *Márgaret Tèčer*. Her husband's name must, however, be declined: *Dènisas Tèčeris, Dèniso Tèčerio* etc.

The *gender* of indeclinables in *-i, -u, -o* with *inanimate* reference is *masculine* (which is the unmarked gender of Lithuanian). The gender is expressed through modifiers, e. g. *idomùs interviù* 'an interesting interview', see also chapter on agreement. Inanimate indeclinables in accented *-ė* belong to the feminine gender. (Deviations from this rule may be encountered, cf. the following example from a newspaper: *mažasis savaitės esẽ* 'the small essay of the week'; this is contrary to modern normative dictionaries which present *esė* as a feminine noun.)

The gender of *animate* indeclinables is determined by the biological gender (sex).

## Singular and Plural Nouns

*(Singularia et pluralia tantum)*

By this term are meant nouns which possess either only singular or plural forms.

The first group (the *singularia tantum*) encompasses:

1) abstracts (like *méilė* 'love', *sąžinė* 'conscience'),

2) collectives (e. g. *jaunìmas* 'youth', *inteligentijà* 'intelligentsia'),

3) many designations of materials (*geležìs* 'iron', *degtìnė* 'vodka', *medùs* 'honey') and

4) names like *Lietuvà, Vìlnius* etc.

To the second group (the *pluralia tantum*) belong:

1) designations of ceremonies, feasts and similar, like *vestùvės* 'marriage', *láidotuvės* 'funeral', *atóstogos* 'holidays', *Kalẽdos* 'Christmas', *Velýkos* 'Easter', *mẽtai* 'year', *rinkìmai* 'elections)',

2) a good number of mass nouns like *dažaĩ* 'paint', *dùjos* 'gas', *mìltai* 'flour' (including the words for wheat, rye etc.), *pelenaĩ* 'ashes',

3) the directions of the compass: *piẽtūs* 'south', *rytaĩ* 'east', *vakaraĩ* 'west'.

N. B. For 'north' Standard Lithuanian makes use of a singular noun *šiáurė*; the plural noun form *žiemiaĩ* 'north' is dialectal.

4) some geographical names like *Álpės* 'the Alps', *Atė̃nai* 'Athens', *Balkãnai* (or *Balkãnų kalnaĩ*) 'The Balkans' and *Himalājai* (or *Himalājų kalnaĩ)* 'The Himalayas'. Within Lithuania there is a very considerable number of pluralic nouns designating cities, villages and suburbs, cf., for example *Šiauliaĩ, Raséiniai, Trãkai, Elektrė̃nai, Zarasaĩ, Drùskininkai, Rùmšiškės, Justìniškės, Fabijõniškės.* The student should, however, not be misled into concluding that all Lithuanian city names are plural nouns; it suffices to mention only *Vìlnius* (cf. also point 4 under *singularia tantum* above), *Kaũnas, Klaĩpėda* to prove that this is not true.

5) a group of heterogeneous nouns like *vařtai* 'gate(s)', *griñdys* 'floor', *maršk̃iniaĩ* 'shirt', *akiniaĩ* 'glasses', *grumtỹnės* 'fight, struggle', *varžýbos* 'contest, competition', *tymaĩ* 'measles'.

Some of the above nouns can have singular or plural meaning depending on the context. Thus, for example, *maršk̃iniaĩ* can mean both 'shirt' and 'shirts'. Adjectival modifiers must be in the plural, cf. p. 197.

For the choice of numerals in combination with countable plural nouns, see chapter on numerals (p. 85 f.).

One is intrigued by the great number of *pluralia tantum* nouns in Lithuanian, not least those referring to mass nouns (group 2 above). The reasons for this development remain obscure. From a practical point of view, however, one should be careful and not take for granted that nouns within this semantic sphere are automatically

pluralic (cf. point 3 under *singularia tantum*). Regular nouns with both singular and plural forms are among others the designations of berries, fruits and vegetables.

# Word Formation

*(Žõdžių darýba)*

Within word formation two main areas are distinguished: *derivation* and *composition. Suffixation* is a derivational strategy (cf. I below) whereas *prefixation* is a compositional device (treated in II below). Some of the examples given in II are hybrids since a change in suffix is also observed. In III non-prefixal compositions are discussed.

## I. Suffixal Derivatives

### 1. Designations of Persons

Important suffixes here are:

*-ininkas* (f: *-ininkė*) which derives nouns from nominal word classes:

*darbiniñkas* 'worker' (: *dárbas* 'work'), *kalbiniñkas* 'linguist' (: *kalbà* 'language'), *trãktorininkas* 'tractor driver' (: *trãktorius*), *pìrmininkas* 'chairman, president' (: *pìrmas* 'first');

*-ietis, -ietė* which derives nouns with the meaning of 'origin' from nouns: *amerikiẽtis* 'American (man)' (: *Amèrika*), *kauniẽtė* 'woman from Kaunas' (: *Kaũnas*);

*-tojas* (f: *-toja*), with the help of which nouns are derived from the infinitive stem of verbs:

*mókytojas* 'teacher' (: *mókyti* 'teach'), *gýdytojas* 'surgeon' (: *gýdyti* 'cure');

*-ėjas* (f: *-ėja*) which like the preceding suffix is deverbal with derivatives formed from the preterite stem):

*vedẽjas* 'head, manager' (: *vẽdė* 'led', inf. *vèsti*), *gavẽjas* 'receiver' (: *gãvo* 'got, received', inf. *gáuti*);

### 2. Abstracts

The most important of these suffixes are:

*-ymas* which derives nouns of various meanings (mostly *nomina actionis*) from verbs in *-yti* (with presents in *-o,* preterites in *-ė)* with the variant *-imas* from other verbs: *dãrymas* 'doing, making' (: *darýti* 'do'), *baigìmas* 'ending' (: *baĩgti* 'end'). Formations of this kind are very productive and can be made from any verb, cf. p. 166. Note: *kláusimas* 'question', not the 'act of asking questions' (: *kláusti* 'ask'), *vežìmas* (: *vèžti* 'transport') with the two meanings a) 'transporting', b) 'waggon';

*-yba* which derives *nomina actionis* from verbs: *darýba* '(act of) making' (: *darýti* 'do'), *statýba* '(act of) building';
*-inys* which produces deverbatives with the meaning of *result*: *rašinỹs* 'composition, written work' (: *rašýti* 'write'). Observe: *mokinỹs/mokinė̃* 'pupil' (: *mókytis* 'learn, study');
*-umas* is a very frequent suffix for deriving nouns from adjectives (including the participle of necessity in *-tinas*, see p. 163): *gerùmas* 'kindness, goodness' (: *gẽras* 'good'), *būtinùmas* 'necessity' (: *bū́tinas* 'necessary');
*-ybė* which derives nouns from adjectives and nouns: *gerýbė* 'kindness, goodness' (: *gẽras* 'good'), *pilietýbė* 'citizenship' (: *piliẽtis* 'citizen');
*-ystė* with the help of which nouns are derived from adjectives and nouns: *jaunỹstė* 'youth, young years' (: *jáunas* 'young'), *jūreivỹstė* 'navigation' (: *jūreĩvis* 'sailor');
*-ovė* (from adjectives): *senóvė* 'old times' (: *sẽnas* 'old');
*-sena* which produces deverbatives mostly with the meaning of *way*: *gyvénsena* 'way of life' (: *gyvénti* 'live'), *mąstýsena* 'way of thinking'
(: *mąstýti* 'think'), *bū́sena* 'state, condition' (: *bū́ti* 'be');
*-is* (from adjectives) often accompanied by a vowel shift in comparison with the basic word: *grõžis* 'beauty' (: *gražùs* 'beautiful')
*-tynės* (pluralia tantum) with the help of which deverbatives are formed: *peštỹnės* 'fight' (: *pèštis* 'to fight');

### 3. Collective Nouns

The most frequent suffixes here are:
*-ija* (from nouns): *draugijà* 'society, circle' (: *draũgas* 'friend');
*-uomenė* (from nouns, adjectives and pronouns): *kariúomenė* 'army' (ultimately : *kãras* 'war'), *bendrúomenė* 'community' (: *beñdras* 'common'), *visúomenė* 'society' (: *vìsas* 'all');

### 4. Designations for Instruments

To the most frequent suffixes here belong:
*-tukas* (deverbative): *pieštùkas* 'pencil' (: *piẽšti* 'draw')
*-tuvas* (deverbative): *imtùvas* 'wireless set, receiver' (: *ĩmti* 'take, receive');
*-iklis* (deverbative): *jungìklis* 'switch' (: *jùngti* 'connect');
*-yklė* (deverbative): *rodỹklė* 'pointer; hand (on a watch)' (: *ródyti* 'point, show')

**5. Designations for Location (Place)**

Here should be mentioned:

*-ynas* (from nouns) which could also be labeled a collective suffix, cf. 3 above: *beržýnas* 'place where there are many birches; birch grove' (: *béržas* 'birch'), *žemýnas* 'continent' (: *žẽmė* 'earth, land'); *knygýnas* 'book store' (: *knygà* 'book', *žodýnas* 'dictionary' (: *žõdis* 'word');

*-ykla* (deverbative): *mokyklà* 'school' (: *mókyti/s/* 'teach, learn'); *valgyklà* 'cafeteria, (modest) restaurant' (: *válgyti* 'eat'), *siuvyklà* 'sewing shop' (: *siū́ti* 'sew');

*-tuvė* (deverbative): *spaustùvė* 'printing house' (: *spáusti* 'press'), *dirbtùvė* 'workshop' (: *dìrbti* 'work');

*-iena* (from nouns) to designate place where cultivated plants and vegetables are grown: *bulvíena* 'potato field' (: *bùlvė* 'potato');

*-idė* (from nouns designating domestic animals): *karvìdė* 'cow shed' (: *kárvė* 'cow');

*-inė* (from nouns) to denote 'container': *svíestinė* 'butter dish' (: *svíestas* 'butter'), *cùkrinė* 'sugar basin' (: *cùkrus* 'sugar'); *váistinė* 'drug store' (: *váistas* 'medicine')

**6. Diminutives and Augmentatives**

Augmentatives are quite rare in Lithuanian. A suffix which can have this nuance is *-okas*. However, the meaning is not only augmentative, but also pejorative. It seems difficult to find good examples with this suffix in the Standard language.

The suffixes labeled diminutive are extremely common and numerous. Nouns with such suffixes are derived from other nouns. They mostly have a hypocoristic meaning and express familiarity, emotionality rather than small size, strictly speaking. They are especially frequent in the literary genres of the folk songs *(dainos)* and fairy tales as well as in colloquial speech.

The most important suffixes here are:

*-elis, -elė*: *namẽlis* 'little house' (: *nãmas* 'house'), *kiškẽlis* '(dear, little) hare' (: *kìškis* 'hare'), *sesẽlė* '(dear, little) sister' (: *sesuõ* 'sister');

*-(i)ukas, -(i)ukė*: *kiškiùkas*(: *kiškis*), *sesiùkė* (: *sesuõ*), *Jonùkas* (: *Jõnas*);

*-ùtis, -ùtė: sesùtė* (: *sesuõ*), *Almùtė* (: *Álma*);

*-ýtis, -ýtė: kiškýtis* (: *kìškis*), *sesýtė* (: *sesuõ*)

Of these suffixes the latter may be said to be the most emotionally loaded.

**7. Surnames**

*-ienė* is the suffix denoting a *married* woman: *Zinkẽvičienė, Jakáitienė* (with corresponding husband's names *Zinkẽvičius, Jakáitis*). For *unmarried* women the suffixes are *-aitė, -ytė* and *-(i)utė* or *-(i)ūtė* dependent on the form of the father's surname. It is:

*-aitė* if the the father's surname is in *-as*: *Strazdáitė* (: *Strãzdas*),

*-ytė* if the father's surname is in *-is, -ys, -ė* or *-ia: Jakaitýtė* (: *Jakáitis*), *Pakerytė* (: *Pakerỹs*), *Gervytė (: Gérvė), Stundžýtė* (: *Stùndžia*),

*-(i)utė* or *-(i)ūtė* if the fathers surname is in *-(i)us: Butkùtė* (: *Bùtkus*), *Zinkevičiū̃tė* (: *Zinkẽvičius*)

## II. Prefixal Derivatives

As will be apparent from the subsequent examples, all seem to be *denominal.*

**1. Formations denoting Persons**

*pa-: pãmotė* 'stepmother' (: *mótė* 'mother'), *patė́vis* 'stepfather' (: *tė́vas* 'father'),

*pó-: pósūnis* 'stepson' (: *sūnùs* 'son'), *pódukra* 'stepdaughter' (: *dukrà* 'daughter'),

*pró-*: *prótėvis* 'ancestor' (: *tė́vas*),

*į-: įtėvis* 'foster-father' (: *tė́vas*),

*be-: betvařkis* 'untidy (male) person', *betvařkė* 'untidy (female) person' (: *tvarkà* 'order')

**2. Formations denoting Place**

*pa-: pajū́ris* 'seaside' (: *jū́ra* 'sea'),

*pó-: póžemis* 'vault' (: *žẽmė* 'earth'),

*príe-: príemiestis* 'suburb' (: *miẽstas* 'city'),

*ùž-: ùžupis* 'on the other side of the river' (: *ùpė* 'river'), *ùžkrosnis* 'place behind the stove' (: *krósnis* 'stove'),

**3. Formations denoting Time**

*pa-: pavakarẽ* 'time towards evening' (: *vãkaras* 'evening'),

*pó-: pókaris* 'postwar period' (: *kãras* 'war')

## III. Non-Prefixal Compound Nouns

Because of the limited size of the book and the intricacy of the topic only few illustrations will be given. Compounds can be without or with a connecting vowel. Examples of the former type are: *laĩkraštis* 'newspaper', *gárlaivis* 'steamship', *garvežỹs* 'locomotive; steamengine', *akmentašỹs* 'stone cutter', of the latter: *daiktãvardis* 'noun', *galvósūkis* 'puzzler', *saulėtekis* 'sunrise', *avìkailis* 'sheepskin', *vidùvasaris* 'midsummer'. As is seen from the examples, the connecting vowel always carries the main stress.

Further, the connecting vowel is *-a-* if the first component of the compound noun is an *o*-stem (*daikta- : dáiktas*), *-o-* with *ā*-stems (*galvo- : galvà*), *-ė-* with *ē*-stems (*saulė- : sáulė*), *-i-* with *i*-stems (*avi- : avìs*) and *-u-* with *u*-stems (*vidu- : vidùs*).

As illustrated by the examples, the stem of the second component is often changed compared to that of the basic noun. This holds good both for the cases with and without a connecting vowel, e. g. *laĩkraštis : rãštas, daiktãvardis : vařdas.*

The bulk of the above examples have a noun both in the first and second component of the compound, but also other combinations are possible, thus adjective + noun in *aukštākalnis* 'high hill' (< *áukštas + kálnas).* In *garvežỹs, akmentašỹs, galvósūkis, saulėtekis* the second component is derived from verbs. Old and somewhat obscure compounds are found in proper names like *Gedimìnas, Algìmantas* and others.

# Chapter 3

# THE ADJECTIVE

*(Bűdvardis)*

## General Characteristics

The Lithuanian adjective appears in two variants: the *nominal* (or short or indefinite) and the *pronominal* (or long or definite) respectively.

Both types are declined in *gender, number* and *case*. In addition, many adjectives (i. e. the qualitative) are inflected according to *degrees of comparison*, whereby the *comparative* and the *superlative* are distinguished from the *positive*.

The Lithuanian adjective distinguishes three declensions which to a considerable degree parallel those of the noun, but with less variation. Thus, *i-* and *consonant* stem adjectives (corresponding to noun declensions 3 and 5) are lacking. Further, the endings of certain cases in the nominal form deviate from those of the noun whereas the pronominal form is characterized through pronominal endings which are superposed on the nominal. The vocative case is always formally identical with the nominative.

As for the category of number adjectives have no traces of dual forms.

With respect to gender, they possess a special *neuter* form in addition to the masculine and the feminine. But for a few special cases this form is restricted to the nominative case.

Adjectives show less variation in the stress patterns (indicated by numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4) than the nouns.

In the field of syntax the Lithuanian adjective distinguishes between three functions: 1) *attributive*, 2) *appositive*, and 3) *predicative*.

In the following exposition morphology will be concentrated in the first part whereas the second is reserved for syntax.

# THE NOMINAL (SHORT/INDEFINITE) FORM

Three declensional paradigms are distinguished.

## First Declension

The paradigm of *gẽras, -à* 'good' will illustrate the pattern:

| | | M | F | | M | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | (4) | (4) | | (4) | (4) |
| SG | N | gẽras | gerà | PL | gerì | gẽros |
| | G | gẽro | gerõs | | gerų̃ | gerų̃ |
| | D | ger*ám* | gẽrai | | ger*íems* | geróms |
| | A | gẽrą | gẽrą | | gerùs | geràs |
| | I | gerù | gerà | | geraĩs | geromìs |
| | L | ger*amè* | gerojè | | geruosè | gerosè |

As can be seen from the table, the feminine paradigm follows that of the second declension of nouns whereas the masculine deviates from the first declensional noun pattern in the dative singular and plural as well as the locative singular where the adjective has adopted endings which originate from the pronouns (these forms are given in italics in the above diagram). The nominal plural in *-i* also deviates from the first declension nouns where the ending is *-ai (namaĩ)* and also from the pronominal class *(tiẽ)*, cf. p. 77 below. The vocative is always identical in form with the nominative.

The soft subclass in *-ias/-ia* (type *žãlias, žalià* 'green') hardly requires any special comment because these paradigms can easily be derived from the basic (hard) paradigm of *gẽras, gerà,* i. e. *žãlio, žaliám; žaliõs, žãliai* etc. The nom. pl. masc. is - as expected - in *-i*: *žalì.*

Adjectives in *-čias/-džias* change the *č* and *dž* into *t* and *d* respectively in the nom. and dat. pl. m., e. g. *pẽščias*: *pėstì, pėstíems* 'foot'.

The subclass in *-is/-ė* of the first declension is represented by the words *dìdis* (4) and *dìdelis* (3b), both meaning 'big' (the former in a

figurative sense and most frequently in an elevated style, the latter in a concrete):

| SG | M | F | PL | M | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N | dìdis | dìdė | N | (didì) | dìdžios |
| G | dìdžio | didžiõs | G | didžių̃ | didžių̃ |
| D | didžiám | dìdžiai | D | didíems | didžióms |
| A | dìdį | dìdžią | A | didžiùs | didžiàs |
| I | didžiù | didžià | I | didžiaĩs | didžiomìs |
| L | didžiamè | didžiojè | L | didžiuosè | didžiosè |

| SG | M | F | PL | M | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N | dìdelis | dìdelė | | didelì | dìdelės |
| G | dìdelio | didelẽs | | didelių̃ | didelių̃ |
| D | dideliám | dìdelei | | didelíems | didelė̃ms |
| A | dìdelį | dìdelę | | dìdelius | dìdeles |
| I | dìdeliu | dìdele | | dideliaĩs | didelėmìs |
| L | dideliamè | didelėjè | | dideliuosè | didelėsè |

The difference between this type and the third declension adjectives (below) lies in the masc. plural forms where the latter follow the *brólis*-paradigm whereas the other forms show the same set of endings as *žãlias* (except in the nom. sg.). The fem. of third declension adjectives follows the pattern of the nouns in *-ė* as does the *dìdelis*-paradigm. Beside *dìdė* (in the nom. sg. F) a variant *didžià* is occasionally encountered. Observe the interchange between *d* and *dž* in the *dìdis*-paradigm.

**Accentuation**

In modern Standard Lithuanian accent paradigm 2 is lacking for adjectives in *-as/-a*. In bisyllabics (type *stóras* 'thick', *gẽras* 'good') only 3 and 4 are represented. Note that in accent classes 3 and 4 the dative sg. masc. has end-stress: *storám, gerám*. Other accent shifts are parallel to those observed in the first and second declension of nouns. This applies also to the forms marked as [+ de Saussure], cf. p. 36 above. As a sample of accent paradigm 1 may serve *turtìngas* 'rich'.

## Second Declension

The paradigm of *gražùs, -ì* (4) 'beautiful' is chosen to illustrate the pattern:

| | | M | F | | M | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SG | N | gražùs | gražì | PL | grãžūs | grãžios |
| | G | gražaũs | gražiõs | | gražių̃ | gražių̃ |
| | D | gražiám | grãžiai | | gražíems | gražióms |
| | A | grãžų̃ | grãžią | | gražiùs | gražiàs |
| | I | gražiù | gražià | | gražiaĩs | gražiomìs |
| | L | gražiamè | gražiojè | | gražiuosè | gražiosè |

Adjectives in *-tus* and *-dus* will change the *t* and *d* into *č* and *dž* respectively in all cases where the *gražùs* paradigm has an *i* after *ž* + back vowel, e. g. *kartùs, karčiám; kartì, karčiõs* 'bitter' and *saldùs, saldžiám; saldì, saldžiõs* 'sweet'.

To the second declension belongs a considerable number of adjectives of foreign origin, like, for example, *abstraktùs* (fem. *abstraktì*) 'abstract', *modernùs* (fem. *modernì*) 'modern', *privatùs* (fem. *privatì*) 'private'.

**Accentuation**

The principles of accentuation resemble those laid down above, i. e. roughly accent paradigms 3 or 4 are encountered. Some adjectives, among them *lýgus* 'even', *áiškus* 'clear', *sótus* 'satisfied' follow the 3rd accent pattern, except for the nom. sg. masc. and fem. which are normally root-stressed. Adjectives of the *abstraktùs* type are accent class 4.

## Third Declension

The paradigm of *auksìnis, -ė* (2) 'golden' will show the pattern:

| | | M | F | | M | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | M | F | | M | F |
| SG | N | auksìnis | auksìnė | PL | auksìniai | auksìnės |
| | G | auksìnio | auksìnės | | auksìnių | auksìnių |
| | D | auksìniam | auksìnei | | auksìniams | auksìnėms |
| | A | auksìnį | auksìnę | | auksiniùs | auksinės |
| | I | auksiniù | auksinė | | auksìniais | auksìnėmis |
| | L | auksìniame | auksìnėje | | auksìniuose | auksìnėse |

Observe that the masc. pl. is declined like the plural of the *brólis*-subclass of the first declension of nouns. Except for the dative and locative the *brólis* pattern is valid also for the sg. The fem. forms are declined throughout like a 2nd declension noun in *-ė*.

**Accentuation**

Accent paradigms in this class are either 1 (*mókslinis* 'scientific', *rañkinis* 'hand') or 2 (*namìnis* 'house', *laikraštìnis* 'newspaper'). This restriction of third declension adjectives to accent paradigms 1 and 2 is due to the fact that 3rd declensional adjectives are derivatives.

## The Special "Neuter" Form

Adjectives of the 1st and 2nd declensions form a special indeclinable "neuter" form, e. g. *gẽra* 'good, well' (vs. masc. *gẽras*, fem. *gerà* 'good'), *skanù* 'tasty' (vs. masc. *skanùs*, fem. *skanì* 'tasty'). As is seen from the examples just given, the neuter form is in *-a* with 1st declensional adjectives (like the fem. sg. nom., but may differ from it in stress) and in *-u* (which is totally distinct from the fem. sg.) with adjectives of the 2nd declension.

The notion "neutral" seems to be justified from a diachronic point of view. The common Lithuanian term is *bevařdė fòrma*, literally 'the nameless form'. A good alternative would be *nekaĩtomoji fòrma*, i. e. 'the indeclinable form' which can also be found.

# THE PRONOMINAL (LONG/DEFINITE) FORM

The morphology of the definite form will be dealt with on page 65 f. below.

# DEGREES OF COMPARISON

So far only forms of the positive degree have been given. Below the comparative and superlative degree will be introduced.

For semantic reasons only the so-called *qualitative* adjectives (i. e. adjectives expressing a quality) form degrees of comparison. Such adjectives are restricted to the 1st and 2nd declensions, e. g. *naũjas* 'new' and *gražùs* 'beautiful'. They are in contrast with adjectives of the 3rd declension which are labeled *relative*, i. e. related to or derived from a noun such as, for instance, *auksìnis* < *áuksas* 'gold' which refers to material rather than quality. Thus, from adjectives of the 3rd declension synthetic forms (see below) of the comparative and superlative are not constructed.

## I. The Comparative

### 1. Synthetic Forms

The comparative is formed by adding the element *-esn-* to the positive stem after removal of the stem vowel (*-a, -u* respectively). The endings are those of the 1st declensional subclass *dìdelis/dìdelė-* paradigm (see p. 60 above). No cases of suppletivism (i. e. formations with completely different stems as in English *good : better : best* or *bad : worse : worst*) are encountered in the Lithuanian adjective.

A full paradigm will have the following appearance:

| | | M | F | | M | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SG | N | gerèsnis | gerèsnė | PL | geresnì | gerèsnės |
| | G | gerèsnio | geresnẽs | | geresnių̃ | geresnių̃ |
| | D | geresniám | gerèsnei | | geresníems | geresnė́ms |
| | A | gerèsnį | gerèsnę | | geresniùs | geresnès |
| | I | geresniù | geresnè | | geresniaĩs | geresnėmìs |
| | L | geresniamè | geresnėjè | | geresniuosè | geresnėsè |

### Accentuation

The stress is - independent of the accentuation pattern found in the positive - always on the comparative suffix, except in the forms which trigger de Saussure's Law, i. e. the instr. sg. and acc. pl. of both genders as well as the masc. nom. pl. as demontrated through the above paradigm. In other words, the accentuation of the comparative follows the 4th accent class.

**2. Analytic Forms**

As in English Lithuanian has also analytic forms of the comparative. These are formed by combining the positive degree with *daugiaũ* (or *labiaũ)* 'more', e. g. *daugiau formalus (laiškas)* '(a) more formal (letter)'. With this adjective the analytical form would be preferred to the form in *-esn-*. With (the relative) adjectives in *-inis* (i. e. III declension) this strategy is mandatory.

The opposite meaning is obtained by replacing *daugiaũ* with *mažiaũ*, e. g. *mažiau formalus* 'less formal'.

## II. The Superlative

The superlative is formed through addition of the suffix *-iáus* to the positive stem after removal of the stem vowel *-a, -u* respectively. The inflection is that of the soft subtype of *gēras* (i. e. *žãlias*, see p. 59 above), yielding the following paradigm:

| | | M | F | | M | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SG | N | geriáusias | geriáusia | PL | geriáusi | geriáusios |
| | G | geriáusio | geriáusios | | geriáusių | geriáusių |
| | D | geriáusiam | geriáusiai | | geriáusiems | geriáusioms |
| | A | geriáusią | geriáusią | | geriáusius | geriáusias |
| | I | geriáusiu | geriáusia | | geriáusiais | geriáusiomis |
| | L | geriáusiame | geriáusioje | | geriáusiuose | geriáusiose |

The dentals *-t/-d* change into *-č/-dž* before the superlative suffix: *áukštas, aukštà* ('high') > *aukščiáus-*; *dìdis, dìdė* ('big') > *didžiáus-* (note also that the comparative is formed on the basis of *dìdis/dìdė* only, and not from *dìdelis/dìdelė*).

The superlative can be accompanied by masc. *pàts*, fem. *patì* (for inflection, see p. 78): *pàts geriáusias, patì geriáusia* 'the very best'. The superlative can also be strengthened by *visų̃* (gen. pl. of *vìsas* 'all'): *visų̃ geriáusias/geriáusia*, literally 'best of all'.

**Accentuation**

As in the comparative, the stress is simple, since there is only one stress pattern. As indicated in the above chart the stress rests on the acuted suffix in all forms of the paradigm. Consequently, the superlative is accent class I.

## Comparative Degrees of the Special "Neuter" Form

These are indeclinables in *-iaũ* for the comparative and *-iáusia* for the superlative. Examples: *gẽra : geriaũ : geriáusia, skanù : skaniaũ : skaniáusia.*

For comparative degrees of the so-called definite form of the adjective, see next paragraph.

# THE PRONOMINAL (LONG/DEFINITE) FORM

This form is restricted to *adjectives of quality* alone, i. e. adjectives possessing (synthetic) degrees of comparison. Further, the form is more frequent in the positive and the comparative degree than in the superlative. In dialects the definite form is almost extinct, irrespective of the degree.

The term pronominal (which is the one commonly used in grammars of Lithuanian, cf. *įvardžiúotiniai bū́dvardžiai*) refers to the mechanisms of superpositioning (suffigating) the pronoun *(j)is* onto the short form (whereby both components, i. e. the adjective and the pronoun, are declined) thus making it 'definite' in meaning, cf. p. 69 f. below.

A parallel arrangement is found in Slavic as well, cf., for example, Russian *novyj, novaja vs. nov, nova* 'new'.

The full paradigms (including the comparative in *-esn-*) will have the following shape:

| SG | | M | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N | geràsis | geresnỹsis | gražùsis |
| G | gẽrojo | gerèsniojo | grãžiojo |
| D | gerájam | geresniájam | gražiájam |
| A | gẽrąjį | gerèsnįjį | grãžųjį |
| I | gerúoju | geresniúoju | gražiúoju |
| L | gerãjame | geresniãjame | gražiãjame |
| PL | | | |
| N | geríeji | geresníeji | gražíeji |
| G | gerų̃jų | geresnių̃jų | gražių̃jų |
| D | geríesiems | geresníesiems | gražíesiems |
| A | gerúosius | geresniúosius | gražiúosius |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | geraĩsiais | geresniaĩsiais | gražiaĩsiais |
| L | geruõsiuose | geresniuõsiuose | gražiuõsiuose |
| SG | | F | |
| N | gerój̃i | geresnió̜ji | gražió̜ji |
| G | gerõsios | geresniõsios | gražiõsios |
| D | gẽrajai | gerèsniajai | grãžiajai |
| A | gẽrą̜ją | gerèsnią̜ją | grãžią̜ją |
| I | gerą́ja | geresnią́ja | gražią́ja |
| L | gerõjoje | geresniõjoje | gražiõjoje |
| PL | | F | |
| N | gẽrosios | gerèsniosios | grãžiosios |
| G | gerų̃jų̜ | geresnių̃jų̜ | gražių̃jų̜ |
| D | gerósioms | geresniósioms | gražiósioms |
| A | gerą́sias | geresnią́sias | gražią́sias |
| I | gerõsiomis | geresniõsiomis | gražiõsiomis |
| L | gerõsiose | geresniõsiose | gražiõsiose |

For the sake of economy we have abstained from giving the comparative paradigm of *gražùsis* as well since the forms will follow the *geresnỹsis* pattern, i. e. *gražesnỹsis, gražèsniojo* etc.

Observe the non-palatalized consonant (*-r-*) throughout the *geràsis*-paradigm in contrast to the palatalized *s´* and *ž´* in all forms except the masc. nom. and acc. of the *geresnỹsis* and the *gražùsis*-paradigms. Note also the 'nasalized' *-ą-* in the instr. fem. sg. of the definite adjective in opposition to the non-nasalized vowel in the corresponding form of the indefinite (or short form) adjective. For the declension of the pronominal element *(j)is*, cf. p. 72 f. below.

The declension of the pronominal form is far more unified than that of the nominal (short) form since a formal distinction between different types is observed only in the masc. sg. nom. and acc., cf., for example, nom. *geràsis : gražùsis*, acc. *gẽrą̜jį : grãžų̜jį* in opposition to the genitive (which may serve as an illustration of the generalization of the 1st declensional adjectival declension) *gẽro-jo : grãžio-jo* (not **gražaus-jo*).

A comparison of the *geràsis-* and *gražùsis*-paradigms with the corresponding short forms on pages 59 and 60 reveals further that simplifications (dissimilations, haplologies) have occurred in certain cases. Thus, there are no forms with more than one *-m-* in the ending, the first one being always exposed to elision, cf., for example, the dat. sg. m. *gerájam* < **gerám-jam*. A case of haplology is found in the loc.

sg. fem. *gerõjoje* < **geroje-joje*. Other discrepancies like, for instance, the instr. sg. m. *gerúoju* vs. the short form *gerù* or the nom. sg. f. *gerój̀i* vs. *gerà* are explained through Leskiens Law (see chapter 1). The same principle of explanation holds good also for *geresnỹsis* vs. *gerèsnis* and *geríeji* vs. *gerì*. The rarely occurring superlative is in *-iáusiasis* and should not need any special comment.

**Accentuation**

The accentuation of the pronominal (long/definite) form is relatively simple since only two patterns are discerned, namely a) the immobile, and b) the mobile. Type a) is found in cases like *laimìngasis* 'happy' and the superlative *geriáusiasis* 'the best', i. e. with adjectives which in the short form belong to accent class 1 *(laimìngas, geriáusias)*. Type b) is characterized through shifts of stress between the second (penultimate) and the third (antepenultimate) syllable from the end, viz. *geràsis : gẽrojo, geresnỹsis : gerèsniojo*. The shift of stress between the penultimate and antepenultimate syllables respectively becomes apparent from the paradigms quoted in the preceding paragraph. An implicit consequence of the two-stress paradigm - one mobile, one immobile - is further that there is no difference between acute and non-acute stems with regard to the position of the stress, cf., for example, *áukštojo* 'high', *gẽrojo* 'good', *aukštúoju : gerúoju*. It seems legitimate to suggest that acute stems are dominated by non-acutes since de Saussure's Law seems to operate, cf. the instr. sg. m. *aukštúoju (: áukštas) = gerúoju (: gẽras)*.

# SYNTAX OF THE ADJECTIVES

## I. The Nominal (Short/Indefinite), non-Neutral Form

As already mentioned the Lithuanian adjective has the following three functions: (1) attributive, (2) appositive, and (3) predicative. This holds good for all degrees of comparison, i. e. the positive, the comparative, and the superlative.

Illustrations:

1) attributive: *jauna mergaitė*, gen. *jaunos mergaitės* 'young girl', *jaunesnė mergaitė*, gen. *jaunesnės mergaitės* 'younger girl' where the adjective must agree with the head noun in gender, number and case. The same kind of agreement (cf. p. 230 ff.) is observed in

2) appositional usage: *jis kalbėjo su mergaite, jauna ir gražia, kuri sėdėjo sode* 'he spoke with a girl, young and pretty, who was sitting in the garden'.

Functions 1) and 2) are closely related, cf. *jis kalbėjo su jauna ir gražia mergaite* 'he spoke with a young and beautiful girl'.

3) predicative function: *mergaitė yra jauna ir graži* 'the girl is young and beautiful'. In this function there is agreement between the subject noun and the predicate adjective in gender and number. The predicate adjective is in the nominative like the subject. In constructions with a logical subject in the dative case the predicate adjective is also in the dative: *jai reikia būti atidžiai* 'she has to be careful'. The adjective must be in the dative also in general utterances without a subject as, for example in: *reikia būti atidžiam* 'one has to be careful'. Observe further that in such cases the unmarked masculine gender must be used.

*Comparisons* are expressed with the help of the conjunction *negù* + the nominative or the preposition *ùž* + the accusative, e. g. *ji yra jaunesnė negu aš* or *už mane* 'she is younger than me'. By comparison of *two properties attributed to one and the same person or object* the analytic comparative (p. 63 above) must be used (as in English), cf., for example: *jis yra daugiau uolus negu gabus* 'he is more diligent than talented' (observe further that in this case only *negu*, not *už* can be used). See also chapter on the sentence.

**'So good as' etc.**

Expressions of the type 'so good as' are rendered in Lithuanian by the formula *taĩp gẽras/gerà, kaĩp.*

**Elative Function**

Certain superlative forms can also have a so-called *elative* function (= 'very high degree), e. g. *aukščiausios rūšies* 'of the highest quality' (i. e. 'of a very high quality')

**Strengthening of the Positive and Comparative Degrees by** *labaĩ* **and** *daũg (žỹmiai)*

Illustration:

*Jos atlyginimas labai didelis, bet jo daug (žymiai) didesnis* 'her salary is high, but his is much (considerably) higher.

## II. The Special "Neuter" Form

This form is more or less restricted to a special predicate function, namely when there can be no agreement, i. e. in one part sentences (p. 219 ff.). Examples: *dar šviesu* 'it is still light', *visur buvo tamsu, ramu*

'it was dark and quiet (silent) all around', *jai buvo šalta* 'she felt cold', *visiems dabar geriau* 'everybody is getting on better now', *tikriáusia* 'it is most likely (that)'. The neuter form can also be related to an infinitive: *neverta pykti* 'it is no use being angry'. Observe also the construction *kas nauja?* 'what news?'

Furthermore, the special neuter form is found as predicate when the pronoun *vìskas* 'all, everything' is subject: *viskas, kas buvo jo gyvenime, buvo gera* 'all that was (had been) in his life, was good'. Here belongs also the type *kas saldu, tas gardu* 'what is sweet, (that) is tasty'.

The neuter form is further encountered in certain idiomatic expressions like: *tolì gražù ne* 'far from' as demonstrated in the following example: [...] *bet toli gražu ne visais atvejais* 'but (it is) far from (in) all instances'.

In some cases it may appear difficult to decide whether the special neuter form of the adjective or the adverb in *-(i)ai* (cf. p. 173) should be used. Thus, one must say, for example, *blogai* (and not **bloga)* 'it is bad/stupid' and *kaip gerai, kad...* 'how well that ...'. One can say both *jam gera* and *jam gerai*, but not with the same meaning. The former states 'it is good for him' whereas the latter means 'he feels well'. It seems, however, possible to find instances where the neuter form of the adjective and the adverb can be said to be synonymous.

Finally, it should be pointed out that not only adjectives *sensu stricto*, but also certain (adjectival) pronouns (p. 81 f.) and passive like participles (p. 163) can have neuter forms, cf. for the former class *kita* 'other' in the idiom *be kita ko* 'among other things' and for the latter *ten rašoma, kad* 'it is written that', *šiandien slidu: nepatariama vaikščioti* 'to-day it is slippery: it is not recommendable to go for a walk', *viskas jau padaryta* 'everything has already been done', *kieno čia būta?* 'who has been here?'. For more details, see p. 143 f., p. 222 and p. 232.

## III. The Pronominal (Long or Definite) Form

The following guidelines for the syntax of this form should be given:

It can be used only in the functions of the attribute and apposition, not in that of the predicative.

In attributive function both the nominal and the pronominal form are used according to often somewhat unclear distributional criteria. The pronominal form is obligatory:

1) in so-called *generic* expressions: *baltasis lokys* 'polar bear', *juodoji birža* 'the black market', *Baltieji rūmai* 'The White House',

*Raudonasis kryžius* 'The Red Cross', *greitasis traukinys* 'fast (express) train',

2) after *proper names* in cases like *Vytautas Didysis* 'Vytautas the Great',

3) for the purpose of *substantivization*: *jaunieji* 'the newly married (couple)'.

Outside these spheres the pronominal form is used when the noun phrase it belongs to has already been mentioned or is known in the context, i. e. in *thematic* function (cf. p. 236). Thus, the pronominal form will in many cases correspond to the use of the definite article in article languages (Germanic and Romance), cf. the contrast between *jauna mergaitė* and *jaunoji mergaitė* in the following text passage: *Atvažiavo jauna mergaitė. Taip pat atvažiavo daug kitų keleivių. Jaunoji mergaitė norėjo studijuoti lietuvių kalbą* 'A young girl arrived. There arrived also many other travellers. The young girl wanted to study Lithuanian'. However, this is only a guide, not an absolute principle.

After determiners like *šìs/šìtas* 'this', *tàs* 'that' one would expect the pronominal form. It may be said to be preferable, but not obligatory.

In *address* the pronominal form is frequently used: *mieloji Meilute* 'dear Meilute', but also the nominal form is found.

The combination of *pàts patì* + the pronominal form in the positive degree (e. g. *pàts geràsis, patì gerój̃i*) has the same meaning as *pàts/patì* + the superlative mentioned on p. 64 above.

Generally speaking, the nominal form seems to be in the process of expansion which explains the impossibility of formulating absolute rules.

## Word Formation of Adjectives

For some generalities, see Nouns: Word Formation above.

### I. Suffixal Derivatives

Here only a few suffixes will be mentioned.

The following four derive adjectives from *nouns*:

*-inis, -inė* which among other things can express *material, place of origin* and *time*: *medìnis namas* 'wooden house' (: *mẽdis* 'wood, tree'), *šiaurìnis vėjas* 'north wind' (: *šiáurė* 'north'), *pavasarìniai lietūs* 'spring rain(s)' (: *pavãsaris* 'spring');

*-ingas, -ingė* with the meaning *abundantly present*: *protìngas žmogùs* 'clever man' (: *prõtas* 'mind, intelligence', *turtìngas* 'rich' (: *tur̃tas* 'wealth');

*-iškas, -iškė* with the meaning *belonging to, characteristic of*: *výriški rūbai* 'men's clothes' (: *výras* 'man');

*-Vtas* with the meaning *supplied with what is expressed in the noun.* It adopts the form of *-úotas* with *o*-stem nouns: *kampúotas* 'angular' (: *kam̃pas* 'angle'), *-ótas* with *ā*-stems: *kuprótas* 'hump-backed' (: *kuprà* 'hump'), *-ėtas* with *ė*-stems: *dėmė́tas* 'spotted' (: *dėmẽ* 'spot') and *-ytas* with *i*-stems: *akýtas* 'porous, spongy' (: *akìs* 'eye').

Adjective derived from *adjective:*

An example of this is:
*-ókas, -a* with the meaning *to some or a considerable extent*: *brangókas* 'quite dear' (: *brangùs* 'dear').

### II. Prefixal Derivatives

These are more rarely encountered than suffixal. Only a couple of instances need be mentioned:

*pó-: pógražis, -ė* 'rather beautiful' (: *gražùs* 'beautiful'). A synonym of *pó-* is *apý-: apýgražis, -ė*. Observe the change of declensional type.

*ne-: negẽras, -a* 'unkind' (antonym of *gẽras* 'good, kind').

### III. Non-Prefixal Compound Adjectives

Two types are distinguished:
1) with connecting vowel (which is *-a*): *ilgaplaũkis* 'long-haired' (: *ìlgas pláukas* 'long hair'), *plikagal̃vis* 'bald-headed' (: *plikà galvà*)
and
2) without connecting vowel: *raudonveĩdis* 'red-faced' (: *raudónas véidas* 'red face').

Observe that the accent is on the second component. Note also the metatony (cf. p. 35).

# Chapter 4

# THE PRONOUN

*(Įvardis)*

The pronoun is a heterogeneous word class. The following description will be based on more or less traditional classificatory criteria.

Many pronouns are characterized by a special pronominal inflection whereas others follow the pattern of the adjectives.

In terms of syntax a distinction is often made between adjectival and non-adjectival (= substantival) pronouns. Whereas the former are subordinated to a head noun in gender, number and case (= attributive function), the latter can be used "independently" like a noun. Certain pronouns can be used both in adjectival and substantival function.

Figures (1, 2, 3 or 4) in brackets after certain pronouns in the following refer to their accentuational pattern.

## 1. Personal Pronouns

Paradigms:

SINGULAR

| | 1st person | 2nd person | 3rd person M | 3rd person F |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| N | àš | tù | jìs | jì |
| G | manęs | tavęs | jõ | jõs |
| D | mán | táu | jám | jái |
| A | manè | tavè | jį̃ | ją̃ |
| I | manimì | tavimì | juõ | jà |
| L | manyjè | tavyjè | jamè | jojè |

PLURAL

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| N | mẽs | jū̃s | jiẽ | jõs |
| G | mū́sų | jū́sų | jų̃ | jų̃ |
| D | mùms | jùms | jíems | jóms |
| A | mùs | jùs | juõs | jàs |
| I | mumìs | jumìs | jaĩs | jomìs |
| L | mumysè | jumysè | juosè | josè |

DUAL

| | 1.person | | 2.person | | 3.person | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| N | mùdu | mùdvi | jùdu | jùdvi | juõdu (jiẽdu) | juõdvi (jiẽdvi) |
| G | | mùdviejų | | jùdviejų | jų̃dviejų | jų̃dviejų |
| D | | mùdviem | | jùdviem | jíedviem | jódviem |
| A | mùdu | mùdvi | jùdu | jùdvi | juõdu | jiẽdvi |
| I | | mùdviem | | jùdviem | jiẽdviem | jõdviem |
| L | | mùdviese | | jùdviese | juõdviese | jiẽdviese* |

*forms of the locative dual are hardly encountered in Modern Standard Lithuanian

The personal pronoun of the third person has also got extended forms, cf. the following nominatives: *jisaĩ* 'he', *jinaĩ* 'she', (the rare form) *jiẽjie* (M) and *jõsios* (F) 'they'. Oblique forms as well as dual forms are equally attested. The extended forms are, however, relatively seldom used although they can be heard in regular conversation. Their function is probably mainly *orthotonic*, i. e. they can be stressed in a more independent way than the monosyllabic forms *jìs* and *jì* and will thus easily obtain a certain emphasis.

Whenever *tù* or *jū̃s* or any possessive pronoun related to them (see next paragraph) is used in a letter, these forms are capitalized: *Tù, Jū̃s, Tàvo, Jū́sų.*

The usual pronoun found in *polite address* is *jū̃s/Jū̃s*. A special form of polite address used in Lithuanian is *támsta* 'you' (written with capital *T* in letters). It is contracted from *Tàvo mýlista* (calqued from Polish *Twoja myłość* lit. 'your grace') which has the same function as *jū̃s/Jū̃s*. Unlike *Jū̃s* which requires the verb in the (second person) plural even when one person is designated, *támsta* - like *tù* - agrees with the second person singular of the verb: *kur tamsta buvai*? 'where have you been?' With reference to more than one person the form *támstos* + the

2nd plural form of the verb is used, e. g. *ar tamstos žinote?* 'do you know?'

With the same function as *támsta/támstos* one can also find the somewhat informal *pàts/patì* (sg.)/*pãtys/pãčios* (pl.). Another more elevated variant is *sveĩkas/-à* (sg.)/*sveikì, sveĩkos* (pl.).

Observe the formula *mẽs sù* + the instrumental case, meaning 'I and...': *mes su broliu atėjome* 'my brother and I have come'.

To the personal pronouns also belongs the *reflexive* which has the following forms:

| | |
|---|---|
| N | - |
| G | savęs |
| D | sáu |
| A | savè |
| I | savimì |
| L | savyjè |

The reflexive pronoun does not have nominative forms and is, consequently, incapable of being part of the subject syntagm; it always refers to the (nominative) subject.

Further, its application is not restricted to the 3rd person alone. It can refer to the 1st and 2nd persons as well, cf. the following sample: *aš noriu/jis nori palikti ką sau* 'I want/he wants to leave something for myself/himself'.

## 2. The Anaphoric Pronoun of the 3rd Person

This pronoun is identical in form and inflection with the 3 p. of the personal pronoun (i. e. *jis, ji, jie, jos,* cf. p. 72 f. above) and corresponds to English 'it' (sg.), 'they' (pl.). In grammars of Lithuanian this function is usually not found under a separate heading, but is described together with the personal pronouns. The anaphoric pronoun refers to and agrees in gender and number with a noun mentioned in the preceding sentence: *Čia yra mūsų miestas. Jis yra didelis. Jame gyvena apie 500 000 tūkstančių gyventojų.* 'Here is our city. It is a big city. It has (lit. 'in it live...') about 500.000 inhabitants'; *Budapeštas ir Viena yra dideli miestai. Jie yra prie Dunojaus* 'Budapest and Vienna are big cities. They are situated on the Danube'.

# 3. Possessive Pronouns

### A. Non-Reflexive Possessives

The pronouns of this class might also be labeled personal like the preceding ones. It has, however, become customary to group them under a separate heading as possessive pronouns according to their specialized function. The group encompasses *màno* 'my/mine', *tàvo* 'your(s)', *sàvo* 'one's own', *jõ* 'his', *jõs* 'her(s)', *mū́sų* 'our(s)', *jū́sų* 'your(s)', *jų̃* 'their(s)' which are all undeclined regardless of the gender, number or case of the word to which they refer.

The latter five are simply the genitive case of the corresponding personal pronouns whereas *màno, tàvo* and *sàvo* curiously enough seem to represent petrified forms of the genitive singular masc. of the possessive pronoun proper, cf. Latvian nom. sg. masc. *mans,* gen. *mana* etc.; nom. sg. fem. *mana,* gen. *manas* etc. with full inflection according to gender, number and case. Declined forms are also encountered in Lithuanian, but they are stylistically marked, see examples below. Observe that *màno, tàvo, sàvo* do not undergo lengthening according to p. 29 above.

Examples with possessive pronouns:

*mano/mūsų brolis/broliai/sesuo/seserys/knyga/knygos* 'my/our brother/brothers/sister/sisters/book/books', *apie tavo knygas* 'about your books'; *šita knyga yra jūsų* 'this book is yours', *tai jos brolis* 'that's her brother'.

### B. Reflexive Possessives

The reflexive possessive *sàvo* refers to the subject of the sentence regardless of the person and number expressed by the subject, i. e: *aš paėmiau savo knygą, tu paėmei savo knygą, jis/ji paėmė savo knygą, mes paėmėme savo knygas, jūs paėmėte savo knygas, jie/jos paėmė savo knygas* 'I took my book, you took your book, he took his book, she took her book, we took our book(s), you took your book(s), they took their book(s)'.

The *sàvo*-form - like its non-possessive counterpart - *savė, savęs* etc. (p. 74) - can never be part of the subject syntagm. Thus, a sentence like, for instance, **savo knyga yra čia* is unacceptable.

### C. Additional Comments on Possessive Pronouns

On the use of capital letters with possessives of the 2nd person, see preceding paragraph.

Alongside the possessive meaning, *màno, tàvo, sàvo* can also express the *performer* (agent) in a passive construction: *šis laiškas yra mano (*not **manęs) parašytas* 'this letter has been written by me.' In the

plural the genitive forms of the personal pronoun *mūsų, jūsų* are used in this function.

Beside the usual forms *màno, tàvo, sàvo* the declined *mãnas, tãvas, sãvas* (M), *manà, tavà, savà* (F), or more often, the long forms *manàsis, manóji* etc. are also encountered: *Yra dar pasaulyje šalis, kur tavajai sielai jauku galėtų kiek būti?* (S. Geda) 'Is there a land on earth which could be that pleasant to your soul?' The short congruent form is present in *tėviškė mana* 'my fatherland'.

Finally, mention should be made also of the substantivized forms *manìškis* (2), *tavìškis* (2) etc. which are declined like first declensional nouns of the *brolis*-type. In the plural they are as a rule used about relatives: *maniškiai jau atėjo* 'my relatives have just come', *važiuok namo pas saviškius* 'go home to yourselves (your relatives)'.

## 4. Reciprocal Pronouns

There is one reciprocal pronoun in Lithuanian, namely *víenas kìt-* (or less frequently *víenas/vienà añtr-*) 'each other, one another' (*víenas/vienà* 3 means 'one', *kìt-/añtr-* 4 'other'). The first element (*vienas*) is always in the nominative case whereas the case of the second is determined by its syntactic position. Both elements are inflected according to gender.

Examples:

*jie myli vienas kitą* (i. e. *jie myli: vienas myli kitą*) 'they love each other'; *jie sėdėjo vienas šalia kito* (i. e. *jie sėdėjo: vienas sėdėjo šalia kito*) 'they were sitting next to each other', *Birutė ir Regina sėdėjo viena šalia kitos* 'Birute and Regina were sitting next to each other'.

Beside *vienas kit-* also certain reflexive verbs can have reciprocal function (see p. 146). Thus, it may sometimes be difficult for the student to decide whether *vienas kit-* or a reflexive verb should be chosen. Contrast the following sentence pairs: *jie myli vienas kitą* and *jie mylis*; the former means 'they love each other' in opposition to the latter which has the meaning 'they make love'!

As a guiding principle it can be stated that the *viena/s kit-* construction is used when a preposition is involved (cf. the example with *šalia* above).

## 5. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are the following:
šìs/šì 'this' and šìtas/šità (4) 'this (one here)',
*šìtoks/šìtokia* (1) 'such',
*šióks/šiokià* (3) 'such',
*tóks/tokià* (3) 'such',
*tàs/tà* 'that (one there)'
*anàs/anà* (4) 'that (one)',
*anóks/anókia* (1) 'like that one'.

*šìs/šì* and *tàs/tà* have the following inflection (with the cases in the usual order, i. e. N, G, D, A, I, L):

| M | | | | F | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SG | | PL | | SG | | PL | |
| tàs | šìs | tiẽ | šiẽ | tà | šì | tõs | šiõ |
| tõ | šiõ | tų̃ | šių̃ | tõs | šiõs | tų̃ | šių̃ |
| tám | šiám | tíems | šíems | tái | šiái | tóms | šióms |
| tą̃ | šį̃ | tuõs | šiuõs | tą̃ | šią̃ | tàs | šiàs |
| tuõ | šiuõ | taĩs | šiaĩs | tà | šià | tomìs | šiomìs |
| tamè | šiamè | tuosè | šiuosè | tojè | šiojè | tosè | šiosè |

Like *tàs/tà* is also declined *anàs/anà*. In *šìtas/šìta* only the *-tas/-ta*-element is declined (according to the *tàs/tà*-pattern).

*Tóks* is declined as follows: *tóks, tókio, tokiám, tókį, tókiu, tokiamè; tokiẽ, tokių̃, tokíems, tókius, tokiaĩs, tokiuosè* for the M sg. and pl. respectively, *tokià, tokiõs, tókiai, tókią, tókia, tokiojè; tókios, tokių̃, tokióms, tókias, tokiomìs, tokiosè* in the F sg. and pl. The pronoun *šióks/šiokià* is declined like *tóks/tokià*. The same also holds good for *anóks/anókia* and *šìtoks/šìtokia*, the only reservation being that the stress remains on the same syllable as in the nom. sg. throughout the paradigm.

Examples:
*Ne šis kelias, kur stovi, o tas, kur toliau yra* 'not this road where you are standing, but that one which is farther away'; *Mes šitokie, tokie ir anokie* 'we are this way, that way and even that way'; *Anas (vaikas) visiem geriau patinka už šituos išdykėlius* 'that one (that child) was better liked by everybody than these naughty ones'.

Observe the obligatory agreement in gender and number with the reference - and in adjectival function (i. e. as modifier of a noun) also in case.

## Additional Comments on Demonstrative Pronouns

Some of the above pronouns may have extended forms (cf. for example masc. *tasaĩ*, fem. *tóji*): [...] *teisus tasai, sakė, kad...*'right was *he* who said that...'. Their function seems to be mainly orthotonic (i. e. stressable), cf. the comments to the pronouns *jisaĩ* and *jinaĩ* on p. 73 above.

Notice the use of *šìs* in the following example (from a newspaper): *Kai pernai [...] nariai ėmė ieškoti K-iaus turto, šis sakė tuojau parduosiąs [...] pastatą* 'when the members started searching for K's fortune, he (lit. this) said he would sell the building at once'. The pronoun *šìs* is opposed to *tàs* and corresponds to the German opposition *dieser - jener*.

Observe that *tàs* can have a determinative function: *ar jūs pažįstate tą žmogų, su kuriuo aš taip ilgai kalbėjau?* 'do you know that person with whom I spoke for so long?' The same applies to *tóks* which correlates with the relative *kóks* (see next section). Compare also cases like the following: *tos avies vilna tokia balta, jog padėjus ant sniego sniegas juodas atrodo* 'the wool of that sheep is so white that if you place it on the snow, the snow will seem black'.

Notice the form *tai* 'this/that' which is used in introductory utterances like: *tai yra žemėlapis* 'this/that is a map' irrespective of the gender and number of the noun introduced. It can also be used in accusative position, e. g. *ji žino apie tai* (alongside *tą*) 'she knows about it (this/that)'.

Mention should also be made of the expressions *tàs pàts* 'the same' ([...] *toje pačioje vietoje, kur* ... '.. in the same place where..') and *pàts tàs/patì tà* 'the (very) right one', (e. g. *pats tas kaklaraištis* 'the right tie') as well as *tám tìkras/tikrà* 'a certain' (*mes pažįstame tam tikrą žmogų* 'we know a certain man'). *Páts* has *patiẽs, pačiám*, nom. pl. *pãtys*; *patì* goes like *martì* (p. 44).

For translating 'so + adjective' the pronoun *tóks* is used: *tóks gẽras* 'so good'. In colloquial speech also *taip* can be heard: *ji yra man taip miela* 'she is so dear to me'.

Finally, it should be emphazised that *jìs/jì* (cf. section 2 above) is the normal pronoun for anaphoric use even though the demonstrative pronouns can be met with in a similar function.

# 6. Interrogative and Relative Pronouns

The following pronouns - all characterized through an initial *k-* - can have either an interrogative or a relative function:

*kàs* 'who, what' (declined like *tas*, see preceding section)
*kienõ* 'whose' (undeclined - formally a petrified genitive)
*kóks/kokià* (3) 'what' (declined like *tóks/tokià*, see preceding section)
*kurìs/kurì* (4) 'which' (declined like *šìs/šì*, see preceding section)
*katràs/katrà* (4) 'which (of the two)' (declined like *tàs/tà*, see preceding section)
*kelì/kẽlios* (4) 'how many?' (declined like the numeral *penkì/peñkios*, see next chapter)
*kelerì/kẽlerios* (3b) 'how many' (used with *pluralia tantum* nouns only and declined like the numeral *ketverì/kẽtverios*, see next chapter)
*keliñtas/kelintà* (4) 'which' (inflected like a 1st declination adjective).

Illustrations:

**a) Interrogative Function**

*Ką jūs sakote?* 'what do you say?', *ką/ko tu klausei kelio?* 'whom did you ask about the road?', *kieno tai yra knyga?* 'whose book is that?', *koks oras?* 'what is the weather like?', *kelinta dabar valanda?* 'what time is it?', *keli jūs* (or more frequently: *keliese/kiek jūsų) čia būsite rytoj?* 'how many of you will there be here to-morrow?', *keleri tavo marškiniai?* 'how many shirts have you got?'

For indirect questions, see p. 224.

**b) Relative Function**

The *relative* pronoun agrees with its correlate in gender and number whereas case is determined by its function (as subject, object etc.) in the subordinate clause: *aš skaitau tą knygą, kurią* (= object) *tu man davei vakar* 'I am reading the book (which) you gave me yesterday'; *ar tu esi kalbėjęs su tuo žmogum, kuris buvo čia vakar?* 'have you spoken with that man who was here yesterday?'; *kas bus, tas bus* 'what will be, (that) will be'.

Observe that - unlike in English and Scandinavian - a relative pronoun cannot be omitted in Lithuanian.

Finally, it should be mentioned that *k*-pronouns can also have an *exclamatory* function (cf. also next section): *koks keistas žmogus!* 'what a strange fellow!'

## 7. Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are constituted by the pronouns *kàs, kurìs, kóks* in combination with the particles *kažìn, nórs, kaĩ, nè, bèt*:

*kažin kàs* 'somebody; something'
*kažkàs* 'somebody; something'
*kažin kóks/kokià* (3) 'some'
*kažin kurìs/kurì* (4) 'some'
*kas nórs* 'somebody, something; anybody, anything'
*kóks/kokià (3) nórs* 'some, any'
*kurìs/kurì (4) nórs* 'some, any'
*kai kàs* 'somebody; something'
*kai kóks/kokià* (3) 'some; a certain'
*kai kurìs/kurì* (4) 'some'
*kas ne kàs* 'somebody, some people; something'
*kóks/kokià ne kóks/kokià* 'some'
*kurìs/kurì ne kurìs/kurì* (4) 'some'
*bet kàs* 'whoever; anybody; anyone; whatever'
*bet kurìs/kurì* (4) 'any, anyone'
*bet kóks/kokià* 'any (kind of)'

The constituent *kažin* may be shortened to *kaž* and be combined with the pronoun into one word: *kažkàs; kažkóks/kažkokià; kažkurìs/ kažkurì.*

The constituents *kaž(in), nors, kai, ne, bet* are not declined. Only the pronouns proper (i. e. *kas, koks, kuris*) are inflected (in the same way as the interrogatives and relatives of the preceding section).

Examples:

*Aš kažin ką/kažką apie tai girdėjau* 'I have heard someting about that', *ji kai ką apie tai žino* 'she knows something (cf. Russian *koe-čto)* about it', *kai kuriose vietose jau prasidėjo pavasario sėja* 'in some places the spring sowing has begun', *jie prabuvo kelerius metus užsienyje* 'they were (spent) some years abroad'.

Observe that in *questions* pronouns containing *nors* are used (e. g. *ar kas nors yra atėjęs?* 'has anybody come?') whereas the answer

requires a pronoun without *nors*: *taip, kažkas jau atėjo* 'yes, somebody has come already'.

Pronouns with *nors* are also used in *exclamations* (cf. preceding section) to express a *wish*: *kad bent kas nors man padėtų!* 'if only somebody could help me!'

## 8. Negative Pronouns

*niẽkas* (2) 'nobody, no-one; nothing'
*jóks, jokià* (3) 'no (whatever); none (whatever)'

*-kas* is declined like *tas* (see section 4 above) and *jóks/jokià* like *tóks/tokià* (section 4).

A *verb must be in negated form* when accompanied by a *negative pronoun* (so-called "double negation"): *niekas jo nemėgo* 'nobody liked him', *jis nieko nesakė* 'he didn't say anything'; *jis jokio* (or: *nė kokio*) *šalčio nebijo* 'he didn't fear any cold'. When the negative pronoun is not related to a verb, there is no double negation: *dangus buvo giedras, be jokio debesėlio* 'the heaven was clear, without any (a single) cloud'.

Observe that English 'not any-', Scandinavian (Norwegian etc.) 'ikke noen/noe' must be translated into Lithuanian by a negative pronoun, not by *ne* + an indefinite pronoun (cf. preceding section).

The combination *ne kàs* means 'hardly anyone/anything': *jam ne kas* 'the situation is bad for him'; *ne kóks/kokià* '(rather) bad': *ne koks arklys* 'a bad horse)'. To English 'no other than' corresponds Lithuanian *ne kas kitas kaip* or *niekas kitas kaip*.

## 9. Other Pronouns

*kiekvíenas/kiekvienà* (3) 'each, every' is declined like the singular forms of an adjective of the 1st declension: *čia man kiekvienas medis pažįstamas* 'every/each tree is known to me here'; *kiekvienas Vilniuje sako, kad ...* 'everyone in V. says that ...'.

*vìsas/visà* (4) 'all, whole; everybody' is declined like an adjective of the 1st declension: *visa kelionė truko mėnesį* 'the whole journey lasted (for) a month'; *visi protestavo* 'everybody protested'.

*vìskas* 'everything (all)' is declined like *tas* (see section 4 above): *viskas gerai, kas gerai baigiasi* 'everything is well that ends well'; *aš viską žinau* 'I know everything'; *jam viskas sekasi* 'he succeeds in everything'.

Beside the (colloquial) *vìskas* (1) with a neuter meaning Lithuanian also possesses formally neuter pronouns like *vìsa* (cf. *visa jau praeityje* 'everything/all is already in the past)', *visa kìta* (cf. below) 'everything else', *kàs kìta* 'something else'. Neuter pronouns are not declined.

*visóks/visókia* (1) 'all sorts/kinds of' is declined like *tóks/tokià* (section 4 above): *prekiauti visokiomis prekėmis* 'to trade with all kinds of goods'.

*kìtas/kità* (4) 'other, another' is declined like an adjective of the 1st declension: *parašyk kitą rašinį, šitas negeras* 'write another composition, this one is not good'.

*víenas/vienà* (3) *(iš)* 'one of': *vienas (iš) žymiausių Lietuvos rašytojų yra Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas* 'Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas is one the most famous writers of Lithuania'. The preposition *iš* is optional, but most frequently dropped in this locution. Further the nominal (short/indefinite) form of the adjective *(žymiausių)* seems to be preferred to the pronominal (long/definite). The declension of *víenas/vienà* is that of the singular of a 1st declensional adjective.

For *tas pats*, see point 5 above.

# Chapter 5

# NUMERALS

*(Skaĩtvardis)*

Numerals are divided into *cardinal numbers* of different types, *ordinal numbers* and *fractions*.

## I. CARDINAL NUMBERS

There are three types of cardinal numbers in Lithuanian, namely

1) plain cardinal numbers *(kiẽkiniai skaĩtvardžiai)*
2) special cardinal numbers *(daugìniai skaĩtvardžiai)*
3) collective numbers *(kúopiniai skaĩtvardžiai)*

## 1. Plain Cardinal Numbers

0 - nùlis (2)
1 - víenas (M), vienà (F) (3)
2 - dù (M), dvì (F)
3 - trỹs (4)
4 - keturì (M), kẽturios (F) (3b)
5 - penkì (M), peñkios (F) (4)
6 - šešì (M), šẽšios (F) (4)
7 - septynì (M), septýnios (F) (3)
8 - aštuonì (M), aštúonios (F) (3)
9 - devynì (M), devýnios (F) (3)
10 - dẽšimt (dešimtìs, 3b)
11 - vienúolika (1)
12 - dvýlika (1)
13 - trýlika (1)
14 - keturiólika (1)
15 - penkiólika (1)
16 - šešiólika (1)
17 - septyniólika (1)
18 - aštuoniólika (1)
19 - devyniólika (1)
20 - dvìdešimt
21 - dvìdešimt víenas/vienà
22 - dvìdešimt dù/dvì
30 - trìsdešimt
40 - kẽturiasdešimt
50 - peñkiasdešimt
60 - šẽšiasdešimt
70 - septýniasdešimt
80 - aštúoniasdešimt
90 - devýniasdešimt
100 - šimtas (4)
200 - dù šimtaĩ
300 - trỹs šimtaĩ
400 - keturì šimtaĩ
500 - penkì šimtaĩ
1000 - tū́kstantis (1)
2000 - dù tū́kstančiai
5000 - penkì tū́kstančiai
1000000 - (víenas) milijõnas
2000000 - dù milijõnai

## Declension

*Nùlis* is declined like 1st declension nouns of the *brólis*-subclass. *Víenas/vienà* is treated like an adjective of the 1st declension. The numerals *dù/dvì* and *trỹs* are declined in the following way:

| | M | M/F | F | M | M/F | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N | dù | | dvì | | trỹs | |
| G | | dviejų̃ | | | trijų̃ | |
| D | | dvíem | | | trìms | |
| A | dù | | dvì | | trìs | |
| I | | dviẽm | | | trimìs | |
| L | dviejuosè | | dviejosè | trijuosè | | trijosè |

In the colloquial language the form *dvíems* is also encountered.

In the same way as *dù/dvì* is also declined the pronominal numeral *abù/abì* 'both'.

The numbers 4 - 9 are declined according to the following pattern:

| | M | M/F | F |
|---|---|---|---|
| N | keturì | | kẽturios |
| G | | keturių̃ | |
| D | keturíems | | keturióms |
| A | *kẽturis* | | kẽturias |
| I | keturiaĩs | | keturiomìs |
| L | keturiuosè | | keturiosè |

The numbers 11 - 19 are declined like the singular of nouns of the second declension with the only difference that the acc. is in *-a*, not **-ą*.

The reason for this is that the element *-lika* - probably originally meaning 'what is left (above ten)' - reflects an original neuter plural (which has partly been reanalyzed as a fem. sg. in *-a*). The components *dvy-, try-, keturio-* etc. in *dvýlika, trýlika, keturiólika* may equally represent old neuter dual/plural forms.

The tens 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 are undeclined.

To be precise, *dẽšimt* has a variant *dešimtìs* which is declined like a fem. noun of the third declension (with a 'hard' ending in the genitive plural). Thus, forms like *dvì dẽšimtys, peñkios dẽšimtys* etc. may also be encountered.

The element *-as* in the numbers 40-90 seems to represent a petrified acc. pl. fem. which agrees in gender with the fem. *dẽšimt.*

*Šimtas, tūkstantis, milijõnas* and *milijárdas* are declined like nouns of the 1st declension. Observe the *t : č* shift in *tūkstantis*, gen. *tūkstančio.*

In compound numbers (e. g. 21, 22, 510, 911 etc.) all declinable components are declined, cf., for example, nom. *devynì šimtaĩ vienúolika*, acc. *devýnis šimtùs vienúolika.*

**Accentuation**

The accentuation is indicated in the above paradigms as well as through the numbers in brackets on the list in the preceding paragraph.

## Syntax

All *indeclinable* cardinal numbers together with *šimtas, tūkstantis, milijõnas, milijárdas* are treated as *nouns* syntactically which means that they require the *genitive plural* of an accompanying noun regardless of the syntactic position (subject, object, adverbial) occupied by the numeral + noun combination in the sentence.

Here follows an illustration of a numeral + noun combination in adverbial function: *jis atvažiavo į Paryžių su dešimt/vienuolika/ dvidešimt/šimtu/dviem šimtais/milijonu dolerių* 'he arrived in Paris with ten/eleven/twenty/one hundred/two hundred/one million dollars'.

All *remaining* cardinal numerals (including *abù/abì*) are treated syntactically as *adjectives* which implies that there is *agreement* in gender, number and case between the numeral and the quantified noun: *jis atvažiavo į Paryžių su vienu doleriu/dviem/trimis/penkiais doleriais* 'he came to Paris with one dollar/two/three/five dollars'.

In *compound* numbers the case of an accompanying noun is determined *by the last figure*, cf. for example ... *su tūkstančiu dolerių* (gen. pl. of the quantified noun) : ... *su tūkstančiu vienu doleriu* (instr. sg.) : ... *su tūkstančiu trimis doleriais* (instr. pl.), *kiekvieną semestrą studentai moka po tris šimtus trisdešimt kronų už registraciją* (gen. pl.) 'every semester the students pay 330 crowns each for registration'. (Observe the preposition *po* + acc. in so-called distributive function.)

## 2. The Special Cardinal Numbers

These are the following:

1 - vienerì, víenerios (3[a])
2 - dvejì, dvẽjos (4)
3 - trejì, trẽjos (4)
4 - ketverì, kẽtverios (3[b])
5 - penkerì, peñkerios (3[b])
6 - šešerì, šẽšerios (3[b])
7 - septynerì, septýnerios (3[a])
8 - aštuonerì, aštúonerios (3[a])
9 - devynerì, devýnerios (3[a])

The first form (in *-ì*) is masc., the second (in *-ios*) fem. This type of numeral does not go beyond nine. The declension is identical with that of the plural of adjectives of the 1st declension (or in other words, with the declension of the plain cardinal numbers 4 - 9 above), i. e.

| | M | M/F | F |
|---|---|---|---|
| N | penkerì | | peñkerios |
| G | | penkeriũ | |
| D | penkeríems | | penkerióms |
| A | peñkerius | | peñkerias |
| I | penkeriaĩs | | penkeriomìs |
| L | penkeriuosè | | penkeriosè |

## Syntax

These numerals are used exclusively in connection with either 1) *pluralia tantum* nouns (see p. 51 f.) or 2) nouns designating *pairs* (gloves, stockings, boots etc.).

They have *adjectival syntax*, i. e. they agree in gender, number and case with the accompanying quantified noun: *ji prabuvo dvejus metus Vilniuje* 'she stayed in V. for two years', *su dvejais naujais batais* 'with two pairs of new boots', *su dvejomis naujomis pirštinėmis* 'with two new pairs of gloves'.

In colloquial speech the ordinary cardinal numbers seem to be preferred to the special cardinal numbers in connection with *pluralia tantum*: *ji prabuvo du metus Vilniuje*. With 'one' the forms *vienerì, víenerios* must also be used in colloquial style, cf., for example, *vieneri*

(coll. also *vieni) metai* 'one year' since *víenas/vienà* normally has no formal plural form.

To express *pairs* one can also use the noun *porà* 'pair' which automatically requires the gen. pl. of the quantified noun, e. g. *dvi poros batų* 'two pairs of boots', *su dviem poromis batų* 'with two pairs of boots'. This construction has the advantage of being semantically unambiguous.

## 3. Collective Numbers

This is the traditional Lithuanian term used for the numbers *dvẽjetas, trẽjetas, kẽtvertas, peñketas, šẽšetas, septýnetas, aštúonetas, devýnetas* which are declined like the singular of first declensional nouns.

They all belong to accent class 1.

### Syntax

Being in fact nouns, these numbers require the genitive plural of an accompanying noun.

Semantically they designate a group of people, animals or objects: *jie turi trejetą karvių* 'they have three cows'.

A special function of the collective numbers is to designate an *approximate* number: *Jis čia lankėsi prieš septynetą metų* 'he was (stayed) here some seven years ago'.

# II. ORDINAL NUMBERS

Like the adjectives, ordinal numbers of Lithuanian have both nominal (short/indefinite) and pronominal (long/definite) forms. In Modern Lithuanian only the pronominal form seem to be used with ordinal numbers in *-šimtas* (because of the similarity with the corresponding cardinal numbers), e. g. *šimtàsis, šimtóji; trišimtàsis, trišimtóji*. Even with *tū́kstantas* (vs. cardinal number *tū́kstantis*) the pronominal form prevails.

| | M F | | M F |
|---|---|---|---|
| first | pìrmas, -mà (3) | twenty first | dvìdešimt pìrmas, -mà (3) |
| second | añtras, -rà (4) | twenty second | dvìdešimt añtras, -rà (4) |
| third | trẽčias, -čià (4) | twenty third | dvìdešimt trẽčias, -čià (4) |
| fourth | ketvĩrtas, -tà (4) | thirtieth | trisdešimtas, -tà (4) |
| fifth | peñktas, tà (4) | fortieth | keturiasdešimtas, -tà (4) |
| sixth | šẽštas, -tà (4) | fiftieth | penkiasdešimtas, -tà (4) |
| seventh | septiñtas, -tà (4) | sixtieth | šešiasdešimtas, -tà (4) |
| eigth | aštuñtas, -tà (4) | seventieth | septyniasdešimtas, -tà (4) |
| ninth | deviñtas, -tà (4) | eightieth | aštuoniasdešimtas, -tà (4) |
| tenth | dešimtas, -tà (4) | ninetieth | devyniasdešimtas, -tà (4) |
| eleventh | vienúoliktas,-ta (1) | hundredth | šimtas, -tà (4)* |
| twelfth | dvýliktas, -ta (1) | two hundredth | dušimtas, -tà (4) |
| thirteenth | trýliktas, -ta (1) | three hundredth | tri(s)šimtas, -tà (4) |
| fourteenth | keturióliktas, -ta (1) | four hundredth | keturiašimtas, -tà (4) |
| fifteenth | penkióliktas,-ta (1) | five hundredth | penkiašimtas, -tà (4) |
| sixteenth | šešióliktas, -ta (1) | six hundredth | šešiašimtas, -tà (4) |
| seventeenth | septynióliktas, -ta (1) | seven hundredth | septyniašimtas, -tà (4) |
| eighteenth | aštuonióliktas, -ta (1) | eigth hundredth | aštuoniašimtas, -tà (4) |
| nineteenth | devynióliktas, -ta (1) | nine hundredth | devyniašimtas, -tà (4) |
| twentieth | dvidešimtas, -tà (4) | thousandth | tűkstantas, -ta (1) |
| | | two thousandth | dutűkstantas, -ta (1) |

## Declension

The ordinal numbers are declined like adjectives of the 1st declension (see p. 59 ff.).

In a *compound* ordinal number only the last figure has the form of an ordinal and is declined. The other components are in the form of undeclined (nominative form) cardinal numbers (for examples, see section on syntax below).

Like the adjectives they have both *nominal* (short or indefinite) and *pronominal* (long or definite) forms, e. g. *pìrmas, pirmà : pirmàsis, pirmóji.* A special case is 'hundredth' since in modern Lithuanian only the pronominal form *šimtàsis, šimtóji* is used.

### Accentuation

The accentuation is indicated through the figures in brackets in the above table.

For the accentuation of the pronominal forms, see p. 66 f.

## Syntax

Ordinal numbers have the same syntax as adjectives (see p. 67). They are most frequently encountered in *attributive* function where they agree with the head noun in gender, number and case.

Illustrations:

*Jis jau dvyliktoje klasėje* 'he is already in the twelfth class.'; *tūkstantis devyni šimtai ketvirtasis kambarys* 'room number 1904'.

*Years and dates* are expressed by ordinal numbers.

To answer the question *when? (kada?)* the instrumental case is used for the year: *ji gimė tūkstantis devyni šimtai pirmais metais* 'she was born in 1901'. If the year is accompanied by a date (month/day-combination), the year expression may be either in the instrumental or the genitive whereas the month must be in the genitive and the date in the accusative: *ji gimė tūkstantis devyni šimtai pirmų metų* or *pirmais metais kovo (mėnesio) dvidešimtą (dieną)* 'she was born on March 20, 1901 (lit. on the twentieth day of the month of March of the year [...])'.

For translating a sentence like 'to-day is March 20, 1994' the nominative, not the accusative of the date has to be used: *šiandien (yra) tūkstantis devyni šimtai devyniasdešimt ketvirtų metų kovo dvidešimta diena* 'to-day is March 20, 1994'. Observe that the normal order in Lithuanian is 1) the year, 2) the date. In year/date-expressions the nominal/short form of the ordinal number is commonly used.

In written exposition figures are usually encountered instead of letters. The rule is that with months Arabic or (more rarely to-day) Roman numerals are used whereas for day and year Arabic numerals are found.

For *time of day* ordinal numbers (in the nominal form) are also used.

Examples:

*aš ateisiu pirmą valandą* 'I'll come at one o'clock'; *dabar (yra) penkta valanda* 'now it is five o'clock' In the first example the accusative must be used to answer the question *when? (= kurią/kelintą valandą?)* whereas in the second the nominative is used since *pirma valanda* is the grammatical subject of the sentence.

Ordinal numbers are further used in cases like *popiežius Jonas Povilas Antrasis* 'Pope John Paul II', *Petras Pirmasis* 'Peter the First/ I'. Observe the mandatory use of the long form in this case.

The rules regulating the choice between the *nominal* (short, indefinite) and the *pronominal* (long, definite) of ordinal numbers are the same as those given for the adjective (cf. p. 69).

## III. FRACTIONS

As in English and many other langauges, fractions in Lithuanian are formed with the help of a *numerator* expressed by a cardinal number in the feminine gender (due to a usually deleted fem. noun *dalìs* 'part') and a *denominator* in the form of an ordinal numeral (in the definite form). Both the numerator and the denominator are declined.

When *whole units* occur with fractions, this unit is in the feminine form of the cardinal number since it agrees with the usually deleted noun *dalìs*, cf. for example *peñkios sveĩkos (ir pùsė)*, literally 'five whole parts (and a half)'.

The noun of which something is a fraction (in the following example 'share') is in the genitive singular (plural in the case of *pluralia tantum* nouns) regardless of the case in which the fraction occurs. The reason for this is that the noun in question is grammatically dependent on *dalys, dalių, dalims* etc., i. e. 'parts of a share').

Example of a full paradigm:

N peñkios (sveĩkos) ir šẽšios septiñtosios (dãlys) (ãkcijos) '5 6/7 (of a share)'
G penkių̃ (sveikų̃) ir šešių̃ septintų̃jų̨ (dalių̃) (ãkcijos)
D penkióms (sveikóms) ir šešióms septintósioms (dalìms) (ãkcijos)
A penkiàs (sveikàs) ir šešiàs septintą̃sias (dalìs) (ãkcijos)
I penkiomìs (sveikomìs) ir šešiomìs septintõsiomis (dalimìs) (ãkcijos)
L penkiosė (sveikosė) ir šešiosė septintõsiose (dalysė) (ãkcijos)

Illustrations in full sentences:

*Jie turėjo penkias ir šešias septintą̃sias (dalis) akcijos* 'they had five and six seventh of a share', *ji buvo patenkinta penkiomis ir šešiomis septyntosiomis (dalimis) akcijos* 'she was satisfied with five and six sevenths of a share'. Instead of the order ordinal number (+ *dal-*) + noun one will also find: ordinal + noun + *dal-*, e. g. ... *su penkiomis ir šešiomis septintosiomis akcijos dalimis.*

For '1/2' the noun *pùsė* 'half' is used. It is declined like other feminine nouns in *-ė*. For '1 1/2' one can say *pusañtro*, lit. 'one half of the second', with a shortened form

of *pùsė* + an (adnominal) genitive of *añtras/-à*. The combination constitutes an indeclinable whole. An accompanying noun will be in the genitive: *pùsė lìtro, pusañtro lìtro* 'half a litre, one and a half litres'. For 'a bottle of half a litre' one usually says *pùslitris (pùsbutelis)*. '2 1/2, 3 1/2' etc. (up to ten) can be expressed according to the pattern *pustrẽčio* (fem. *pustrečiõs*), *pusketvirto* (fem. *pusketvirtõs*) and so on. '1/3' is either *(víenas) trẽčdalis* (with the first element *treč-* undeclined, the second,-*dalis*, declined /according to the pattern of a masc. noun of the 1st declension!/) or *vienà trečióji (dalìs)*. For '1/4' there are also two variants: *(víenas) ketvirtis* (declined in the same way as *trẽčdalis*) or *(vienà) ketvirtóji (dalìs)*. Also compounds like *ketvirtãdalis, penktãdalis... devintãdalis* are used.

## Decimal Fractions

Beside the above illustrated fractions Lithuanian - like English - can also use *decimal fractions*, e. g. 2,34 which reads *du (sveiki) kablelis trisdešimt keturi*, lit. 'two (whole ones) comma thirty four'.

# Chapter 6

# THE VERB

*(Veiksmãžodis)*

## The Grammatical Categories of the Lithuanian Verb

The *grammatical categories* of the Lithuanian verb are as follows:

1) *number*, i. e. *singular* and *plural* plus, very marginally, the *dual.*

2) *person.* Lithuanian distinguishes between *three* persons, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd.

N.B.: a peculiarity of Lithuanian (together with Latvian) is the lack of formal distinction between the 3rd p. sg. and pl.

3) *gender* which is marginal since it is relevant only for participle forms. Two genders are distinguished: *masculine* and *feminine.* In addition there is the indeclinable "neuter".

4) *tense.* The Lithuanian indicative has six tenses, namely three simple, the *present, past* and *future*, and three compound, the *present perfect, past perfect* and *future perfect.* The simple past and past perfect have two variants each: the non-frequentative and frequentative. In addition Lithuanian has a couple of *tense-aspect* forms which can be labeled the *inceptive* and the *progressive* respectively.

5) *aspect*, i. e. the opposition of *perfective* and *imperfective* verb pairs (although the distinction is not formalized to the same extent as in the Slavic languages)

6) *mood.* Beside the unmarked *indicative* Lithuanian distinguishes the marked *imperative*, the *permissive* (which is often regarded as a

subgroup of the imperative), the *subjunctive* and the so-called *relative mood.*

7) *voice: active* and *passive*

Numbers 4-7 are specific verbal categories whereas 1-3 were also encountered with nominal word classes (see p. 37 f.).

## Finite and Non-Finite Forms

The following forms - all present in Lithuanian - are labeled non-finite: *infinitive, participles* and *gerunds* together with the *verbal noun.* All other verb forms - including compound forms with participial constituents - are referred to as finite.

**Reflexive and Non-Reflexive Verbs. Transitives and Intransitives.**

Such oppositions are relevant for Lithuanian and will be described on pp. 145 and 148 ff.

## Verb Stems

To be able to form the inventory of the Lithuanian verb one must know:

1) the *infinitive* stem, 2) the *present*, and 3) the *past* (preterite) stem.

On the basis of 1) the infinitive stem (which is found by dropping the *-ti* of the infinitive) the following forms of the verb paradigm (in addition to the infinitive itself) are constructed:

- the future tense
- the future participle active
- the future gerund
- the frequentative past
- the imperative
- the (present) subjunctive
- the past participle passive (= *t*-participle)
- the *dam*-gerund (participle)
- the participle of necessity

From 2) the present stem (which is obtained through deletion of the stem suffix of the Ist, IInd and IIIrd conjugation respectively, see below) are formed:

- the present tense
- the permissive
- the present participle active
- the present participle passive (= *m*-participle)
- the present gerund

From 3) the preterite stem (which is found by dropping the stem suffix,-*ė* or -*o* in the simple past, see p. 103) are formed:

- the simple past (= *ė*- and *o*-preterite)
- the past participle active
- the past gerund

**Morphophonemic Rules**

Before the presentation of the formation of the tenses and principal forms (*a verbo* forms) it is practical to give a couple of morhophonemic rules which are relevant for the verb, namely:

1) the dentals *t* and *d* change to *s* before the -*ti* of the infinitive (cf. p. 26): *mèsti* 'throw' vs. present & past stem *met-*, *brìsti* 'wade' vs. past stem *brid-*,

2) *sk* and *zg* + consonant yield *ks* and *gz* in preconsonantal position whereas *šk* is represented as *kš* under the same conditions. Thus, for example, *mezg-* and *trošk-* in present and past tense forms (as well as other forms derived from these stems) are opposed to *mègzti* ('knit') and *trókšti* ('feel thirsty; desire') in the infinitive (and forms derived from the infinitive). For more details, see p. 26 above.

Also relevant is the merger of the dentals *t* and *d* + *j* into affricates *č* and *dž* as well as the fate of *n* before other consonants than stops. These processes are described in chapter 1, pp. 24 and 29. Also referred to in chapter 1 is the secondary lengthening of the vowels *e* and *a* in open stressed syllables (p. 28 f.).

For the segmentation of **ī* > *ij* and *ū* > *uv* before a vowel, see p. 98 below.

In certain verbs (see p. 110 ff.) vocalic alternations which constitute (old and new) *ablaut* series are encountered. Such alternations are *e* : *ē*, *a* : *ō*, *u* : *ū*, *i* : *ī*, *e* : *i* (the latter in resonant stems).

The treatment of sibilants on the morpheme boundary before the *si*-morpheme of the future tense is described in connection with the presentation of the future tense.

# THE FINITE VERB

## Disposition

The disposition will be as follows:

- Presentation of *conjugational types*
- A section containing the *formation of the simple tenses* of the indicative active; principal forms (*a verbo* forms) with *irregular verbs; formation of the compound tenses* of the indicative active; *formation* of certain special *tense/aspect* forms
- A section on *aspect and tense* with special emphasis on the *use of the tenses of the indicative active.* This section will also contain a discussion of the question of *aspect* in Lithuanian, including both form and meaning, and, finally, a survey of the *use* of certain special *tense/aspect forms*
- A section on the marked *moods*, i. e. other moods than the indicative, which will be described with respect both to *form and function*
- A section on *voice* with special emphasis on the *formation and use of the passive* (or passive equivalent constructions)
- A section on *transitive* and *intransitive* verbs
- A section devoted to the *use of reflexive verbs*

## Conjugational Types

It is customary to divide the Lithuanian verb into three conjugations, referred to as I, II and III respectively, according to the timbre of the stem vowel of the present tense.

The verbs of the Ist conjugation are characterized through the stem suffix *-a* before the personal endings (see p. 98). Two types, non-palatalized (*dìrb-a-me* 'we work') and. palatalized (*gẽri-a-me* ['gæːɻ-ɛ-mɻɛ] 'we drink'), are distinguished, cf. p. 23 above.

IInd conjugation verbs have an *-i-* as the present stem suffix: *mýl-i-me* 'we love', whereas those of the

IIIrd conjugation have an *-o-* as their stem suffix in the present tense, e. g. *skaĩt-o-me* 'we read'.

**Predictability of Conjugational Type on the Basis of the Infinitive**

All monosyllabics belong to the Ist conjugation: *sẽ́-ti,* pres. *sẽ́-j-a* 'to sew', *lỹ-ti,* pres. *lỹ-j-a* 'to rain', *dìrb-ti,* pres. *dìrb-a* 'to work', *gér-ti,* pres. *gẽria* ['gæːɾ -ɛ] 'to drink'. The same is the case with verbs in a consonant before the infinitive marker in *-ti* , cf. alongside *dìrb-ti, gér-ti* also *gyvén-ti,* pres. *gyvẽn-a* 'to live', *dìdin-ti,* pres. *dìdin-a* 'to increase, magnify'. Verbs of the IInd and IIIrd conjugations are never monosyllabic and always have a vowel before the *-ti* of the infinitive. The vowel is *-ė* in the II conjugation, e. g. *myl-ẽ́-ti* 'to love', whereas IIIrd conjugational verbs are in *-yti*, e. g. *skaitý-ti* 'to read', or more rarely, *-oti*, e. g. *ieškó-ti* 'to look for'. There are, however, also some Ist conjugational verbs with the vowels *-ė, -y, -o* before the *-ti* of the infinitive, cf., for example, *tekẽ́ti*, pres. *tẽka* 'to flow, run', *kūpẽ́ti, kũ̄pa* 'to boil', *mažẽ́ti,* pres. *mažẽ́-j-a* 'to diminish', *krìkštyti,* pres. *krìkšti-j-a* 'to baptize', *giedóti,* pres. *gíeda* 'to chant, pipe'. Unambigously Ist congugation verbs are those with infinitives ending in *-auti* and *-uoti: dalyváuti,* pres. *dalyváu-j-a* 'to participate', *kainúoti,* pres. *kainúo-j-a* 'to cost'.

# The Formation of the Tenses of the Indicative Active. General Considerations

## Non-Reflexive Verbs

The desinences are the same in all (simple) tenses, i. e:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 p. sg. *-u* | 1 p. pl. *-me* |
| 2 p. sg. *-i* | 2 p. pl. *-te* |
| 3 p. sg./pl. *-Ø* | |

The *3rd person* form may be regarded as the *basic* one from which all other forms can be derived.

## Reflexive Verbs

The corresponding reflexive desinences are:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 p. sg.*-uos(i)* | 1 p. pl. *-mės* |
| 2 p. sg. *-ies(i)* | 2 p. pl. *-tės* |
| 3 p. sg./pl. *-s(i)* | |

and

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 p. sg. *-us(i)* | 1 p. pl. *-mės* |
| 2 p. sg. *-is(i)* | 2 p. pl. *-tės* |
| 3 p. sg./pl. *-si* | |

The first series is used after a consonant (including *j*) whereas the second *-us(i)* and *-is(i)* merges with a preceding vowel into a diphthong. The endings of the first series are encountered in the future tense, the

present tense of Ist conjugational verbs, those of the second in other cases, i. e. the past tense as well as the present tense of verbs of the IInd and IIIrd conjugations.

When a *reflexive verb appears with a prefix,* then the reflexive morpheme (*-si-*) is intercalated between the prefix and the root, and the desinences are those of the non-reflexive type.

**Accentuation**

In *unprefixed* verbs (both non-reflexive and reflexive) the accent can either remain on the root/stem in all forms of the paradigm (= immobile stress) or it can fall on the ending in the 1st and 2nd p. sg., but rest on the root/stem in the other forms (= mobile stress). This mobility is due to de Saussure's law, cf. p. 34 f. above.

With *prefixed* verbs a distinction must be made between verbs without and with retraction. Verbs without retraction behave in terms of accentuation in the same way as unprefixed verbs. In verbs with retraction the prefix attracts the stress in all persons, both in singular and plural. If there is more than one prefix, the stress "leaps" to the rightmost suffix, i. e. to the suffix next to the root.

In *prefixed reflexive verbs* the reflexive particle will behave as a prefix and occupy the position next to the root whence it can attract the accent.

N. B. The prefix *per-* automatically attracts the stress in all forms of the verb, finite as well as non-finite forms.

## Formation of the Simple Tenses

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter there are three simple tenses in Lithuanian: the *present*, the *past* and the *future*.

### I. The Simple Present
*(Esamasis laikas)*

*1. Verbs of the First Conjugation*

First a couple of full paradigms of the present tense of Ist conjugation verbs should be given:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. *dìrbti* 'to work' | 1 p. sg. dìrbu | 1 p. pl. dìrbame |
| | 2.p. sg. dìrbi | 2 p. pl. dìrbate |
| | | 3 p. sg./pl. dìrba |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. *ruõšti* 'to prepare' | 1 p. sg. ruošiù | 1 p. pl. ruõšiame |
| | 2 p. sg. ruošì | 2 p. pl. ruõšiate |
| | 3 p. sg./pl. ruõšia | |
| Inf. *stóti* 'to stand up' | 1 p. sg. stóju | 1 p. pl. stójame |
| | 2 p. sg. stóji | 2 p. pl. stójame |
| | 3 p. sg./pl. stója | |

*Reflexive forms:*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. *kéltis* 'to get up' | 1 p. sg. keliúosi | 1 p. pl. kẽliamės |
| | 2 p. sg. kelíesi | 2 p. pl. kẽliatės |
| | 3 p. sg./pl. kẽliasi | |

As pointed out above (p. 95) the suffix appearing immediately before the personal endings is *-a*. It is deleted in the 1st and 2nd p. sg. The *-a* can be added directly to the root (as, for example, in *dìrb-a : dìrbti* 'works') or its extended form whereby the following three concomitant praesentic affixes: *-j, -n* and *-st* should be especially observed.

a) *-j:*

*j*-presents are predominantly *transitives*, e. g. *gẽr-i-a* [ˈgæɪɽ-ɛ] < **ger-j-a* 'drink(s)' *(: gérti)*; *sẽ́-j-a* 'sow(s)' *(: sẽ́ti)*. As is seen from the *gérti*-example, the **j* has merged with the preceding consonant to form a palatalized consonant (cf. p. 23). In *postvocalic* position (type *sẽ́ti*) the appearance of the *-j-* is automatic and obligatory. Beside after *ė -j-* is encountered after the equally long vowel *o* as well as the diphthongs *-au*, *-uo* and *-ie*. Examples: *stó-j-a* 'stands' *(: stóti)*, *dalyváu-j-a* 'participate' *(: dalyváuti)*, *dainúo-j-a* 'sing(s)' (: *dainúoti*), *líe-j-a* 'found(s), mould(s)' *(: líeti)*.

After the vowels *ī* (written *y*) and *ū* a *j* is not inserted, but segmentation of *ī* and *ū* into a short *i* and *u* + their consonantal counterparts *j* and *v* takes place instead, e. g. *viẽnij-a* 'unite(s)' *(: viẽnyti)*, *siùv-a* 'sew(s)' *(: siū́ti)*.

b) *-n:*

Another strategy is observed in cases like *lỹja* 'rain(s)' *(: lýti)* and *pū̃va* 'rot(s)' (: *pū́ti*) (with circumflex intonation in the present vs. acute in the infinitive) which may be taken to reflect **li-n-j-a* and **pu-n-v-a* with segmentation of *ī* and *ū* into *-ij-* and *-uv-* + insertion of an *n* in the root.

This has brought us to the second concomitant present tense marker, namely the *n*-infix which is characteristic of certain *intransitives*. According to p. 29 the nasal is lost before other consonants than stops, but has left a trace in the compensatorily lengthened vowel and the intonation. Examples (other than *lỹja* and *pũva* just quoted) are *kỹla* < **ki-n-la (: kìlti* 'arise'), *bjũra* < **bju-nra (: bjùrti* 'become bad/about weather and roads/)' and *bą̃la* < **ba-n-la (: bálti* 'become white'). As examples with the nasal marker intact/preserved before stops may serve *ti-ñ-k-a* (: *tìkti* 'be fit for') and *ta-m̃-p-a* (: *tàpti* 'become'). In the last example the **n* has been assimilated to *m* before the labial stop).

The *-n-*may also appear as a suffix in certain monosyllabic stems, cf., for example, *šáu-n-a* alongside *šáu-j-a* (: *šáuti* 'shoot').

c) *-st:*

The *st*-suffix is found mostly with *intransitives*, e. g. *dýg-st-a* 'sprout(s)' *(: dýgti)*.

After the stem-final consonants *s, š, z* and *ž* the *-s-* in *-st-* is lost: *aũšta* < **auš-st-a* 'dawn is coming' *(: aũš-ti), lū́žta* < **lūž-sta* 'burst' *(: lū́ž-ti)*.

Further, *t* and *d* are lost before *-st*, e. g. *klỹsta* 'be mistaken' (cf. preterite stem *klyd-*: *klỹsti* < **klīd-ti*, see p. 26).

Accumulation of nasal infix and the *st*-suffix is also possible, but is probably limited to *gę̃sta* < **ge-n-st-a (: gèsti* 'die out /about light/)'.

*2. Verbs of the Second Conjugation*

Examples of full paradigms:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. *mylė́ti* 'to love' | 1 p. sg. mýliu [mi:ļu] | 1 p. pl. mýlime |
| | 2 p. sg. mýli | 2 p. pl. mýlite |
| | 3 p. sg./pl. mýli | |
| Inf. *sėdė́ti* 'to sit' | 1 p. sg. sė́džiu | 1 p. pl. sė́dime |
| | 2 p. sg. sė́di | 2 p. pl. sė́dite |
| | 3 p. sg./pl. sė́di | |

*Reflexive forms:*

Inf. *domė́tis* 'to be interested in'

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 p. sg. domiúos(i) | 1 p. pl. dõmimės |
| 2 p. sg. domíes(i) | 2 p. pl. dõmitės |

3 p. sg./pl. dõmis(i)

The verbs of this conjugation can be presented briefly. As mentioned on p. 95 above, the vowel before the personal endings is *-i-* which is deleted before the *-i* of the 2 sg. and optionally before the *zero* ending of the 3 p. In the 1 sg. it has left a trace in the softness of the consonant preceding the ending *-u* (in the orthographic representation *-Ciu*), following the diachronic rule according to which *i* in prevocalic position has yielded *j* with subsequent merger of the *j* with the preceding consonant into a soft consonant, cf. p. 23 above. With stems in *-t* and *-d* an alternation *č/dž* (1. sg.) vs. *t/d* (other cases) takes place according to the rules on p. 24.

The present stem can be derived from the infinitive stem by truncation of the *-ė-* before the infinitive ending in *-ti*.

*3. Verbs of the Third Conjugation*

The vowel before the desinences is *-o-*. Two types, A. with infinitives in *-yti* and B. with infinitives in *-oti*, are encountered.

A. Infinitives in *-yti*.

The pattern can be diagrammed in the following way:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. *darýti* 'to do' | 1 p. sg. dar-a-ũ | 1 p. pl. dãr-o-me |
| | 2 p. sg. dar-a-ĩ | 1 p. pl. dãr-o-te |
| | 3 p. sg./pl. dãr-o | |

From a historical point of view the *-o-* has arisen from **ā* which was shortened to **a* when part of a diphthong which explains *-au/-ai* (< **-ā + u/-ā + i*) in the first and second p. sg., and not **-ou/-oi*

B. Infinitives in *-oti*.

Conjugation sample:

Inf. *iešk-ó-ti* 'to look for; search'

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 p. sg. íešk-a-u | 1 p. pl. íešk-o-me |
| 2 p. sg. íešk-a-i | 1 p. pl. íešk-o-te |
| 3 p. sg./pl. íešk | o |

*Reflexive forms:*

The morphological make up of the present tense will be the same both in types III A and B. Therefore only one paradigm will be given:

*dairýtis* 'to look around'

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 p. sg. dairaũs(i) | 1 p. pl. daĩromės |
| 2 p. sg. dairaĩs(i) | 1 p. pl. daĩrotės |
| 3 p. sg./pl. daĩros(i) | |

**Accentuation**

*Unprefixed Forms*

For generalities, cf. p. 97 above.

Since the accent patterns are the same both for non-reflexive and reflexive verbs, illustrations will be given for non-reflexives only.

1) If the root/stem of the present tense is *acute, the stress does not move.*

Examples:

| Conjugation: | I | II | III |
|---|---|---|---|
| Infinitive | *šókti* 'to jump' | *mylė́ti* 'to love' | *ieškóti* 'to look for' |
| 1 p. sg. | šóku | mýliu | íeškau |
| 2 p. sg. | šóki | mýli | íeškai |
| 3 p. sg./pl. | šóka | mýl(i) | íeško |
| 1 p. pl. | šókame | mýlime | íeškome |
| 2 p. pl. | šókate | mýlite | íeškote |

N. B. In roots of the structure *Cì/ùRC* the grave ` (= short accent) has the same effect as the acute (´), e. g. *dìrbu, dìrbi, dìrba, dìrbame, dìrbate (: dìrbti* 'to work').

2) If the root/stem of the present tense is either *circumflex or shows the short accent**, de Saussure's Law operates in *the 1st and 2nd person singular* whereby the stress leaps from one syllable to the immediately following in comparison with the other forms of the paradigm.

*except for cases mentioned under N. B. in point 1) above.

Examples:

| Conjugation: | | I | II | | III |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Inf.: | *riñkti* | *lìpti* | *ruõšti* | *turė́ti* | *laikýti* |
| | 'to collect' | 'to climb' | 'to prepare' | 'to have' | 'to hold' |
| 1 p. sg. | renkù | lipù | ruošiù | turiù | laikaũ |
| 2 p. sg. | renkì | lipì | ruošì | turì | laikaĩ |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3.p. | reñka | lìpa | ruõšia | tùri | laĩko |
| 1 p. pl. | reñkame | lìpame | ruõšiame | tùrime | laĩkome |
| 2 p. pl. | reñkate | lìpate | ruõšiate | tùrite | laĩkote |

*b) Prefixed Forms*

The rules for accentuation are here rather complicated.

First one has to distinguish between verbs without and with retraction.

1) Verbs *without retraction.*

This group follows the same patterns as unprefixed verbs, cf. above.

Retraction does not take place if the root syllable of the present tense is *acute.*

Further, retraction does not take place with verbs of the IIIrd conjugation: *padãro* (: *padarýti* 'to do').

In the Ist conjugation retraction is never found with verbs which contain a *nasal* infix or the *st*-suffix, e. g. *patiñka* (: *patìkti* 'like'), *nuklýsta* (: *nuklýsti* 'to get lost').

Examples of accent paradigms without retraction:

*paíeškau, paíeškai, paíeško* etc. (: *paieškóti* 'to search'), *padaraũ, padaraĩ, padãro* etc. (: *padarýti* 'to do'.

2) Verbs *with retraction.*

On p. 97 above it was stated that retraction means retraction of the stress onto the suffix in all persons and both numbers.

In *a*-presents (= Ist conjugation) retraction takes place if the root vowel is short, e. g. *sùmušu, sùmuši, sùmuša* etc. (*: sumùšti* 'to defeat').

Retraction is also the rule with *a*-presents which correspond with unprefixed forms with a circumflexed "mixed diphthong" (p. 31 above) in the root as, for example, *sùrenku, sùrenki, sùrenka* etc. (: *suriñkti* 'to collect'), *nèkalbu, nèkalbi, nèkalba* etc. (: *nekalbė́ti* 'not to speak') and *nùperku, nùperki, nùperka* etc. (: *pir̃kti* 'to buy').

In *-ia*-presents (= Ist conjugation) retraction takes place only if the root vowel of the present tense is short, e. g. *nùlekiu, nùleki, nùlekia* (:*nulė̃kti* 'to fly away'). Thus, retraction does not occur, for example, in *nešaukiù, nešaukì, nešaũkia* (: *nešaũkti* 'not to shout') because of the diphthong which in the *morae* count (cf. p. 34) equals a long vowel.

Verbs of the IInd conjugation cause trouble since - following rather obscure rules - some allow retraction while others do not.

*Prefixed reflexive verbs*

The stress can also fall on the reflexive particle which behaves as a prefix and occupies the position next to the root, e. g. *prisìmena* (: *prisiminti* 'remember').

*Cases with more than one prefix*

In the case of more than one prefix the nearest to the root syllable attracts the stress (if the general conditions for retraction are present), e.g. *nebepàneša* 'do(es) not carry any more'.

For the historical explanation of the accentuation in prefixed verbs, see Stang, *Vergleichende Grammatik der baltischen Sprachen* 1966, p. 450.

## II. The Simple Past

*1. The Non-Frequentative Past*
*(Būtàsis kartìnis laĩkas).*

This tense is formed from the past stem (p. 94 above) and appears in two variants, labeled the *ė-* (< **ē*) and *o-* (< **ā*) preterite respectively according to the timbre of the obligatory suffix before the personal endings.

As mentioned above personal endings proper are the same in all simple tenses of the indicative, i. e. 1 sg. *-u,* 2 sg.*-i,* 1 pl. *me,* 2 pl. *-te,* 3 sg./pl. *-Ø* in the non-reflexive forms. For reflexive endings, see below.

The 1 p. sg. of *ė*-preterites is in *-iau* (< **ēu*) with softening of the preceding consonant (and in the case of *t* and *d* with a shift to *č* and *dž* respectively according to p. 24 above). The 2. sg. is in *-ei* (< **ēi*) due to the automatic shortening of long diphthongs. The *o*-type preterite repeats the techniques of the present tense of the verbs of the IIIrd conjugation.

Thus, for the simple past the following two series are arrived at:

| | *ė*-type | *o*-type |
|---|---|---|
| 1 p.sg. | *-iau* | *-au* |
| 2 p. sg. | *-ei* | *-ai* |
| 3 p. sg. | *-ė* | *-o* |
| 1 p. pl. | *-ėme* | *-ome* |
| 2 p. pl. | *-ėte* | *-otė* |
| 3 p. pl. | *-ė* | *-o* |

The *reflexive forms* have the following appearance:

| | *ė*-type | *o*-type |
|---|---|---|
| 1 p. sg. | *-iaus(i)* | *-aus(i)* |
| 2 p. sg. | *-eis(i)* | *-ais(i)* |
| 3 p. sg. | *-ės(i)* | *-os(i)* |
| 1 p. pl. | *-ėmės* | *-omės* |
| 2 p. pl. | *-ėtės* | *-otės* |
| 3 p. pl. | *-ės(i)* | *-os(i)* |

The problem, then, is to determine which verbs form *ė*- and which *o*-preterites.

The following rules and guidelines can be given:

All verbs of the IInd conjugation (p. 95) form *o*-preterites, e. g.: *myl̃ėj-o* (: pres. *mýli,* inf. *myl̃ėti* 'to love'). The same applies to the verbs of subtype B of the IIIrd conjugation verbs in *-oti* (*ieškój-o :* pres. *íešk̃o,* inf. *ieškóti* 'to look for') whereas the IIIrd conjugational A verbs, i. e. verbs with infinitives in *-yti,* pres. in *-o,* e. g.: *darýti : dãro* 'do', follow the *ė*-pattern: *dãrė.*

Ist conjugational verbs are also divided between *ė*- and *o*-preterites, but according to less transparent distributional principles: verbs with *ia*-presents (normally transitive) form *ė*-preterites: *gẽr-ė* (: pres.*gẽria,* inf. *gérti* 'to drink'). The only exception is *léido* (: pres. *léidžia,* inf. *léisti* 'to permit'). The bulk of the *a*-presents (especially the intransitives) have preterites in *-o,* among others all verbs with a nasal infix in the present tense, e. g. *krìto* 'fall' (: pres. *kriñta,* inf. *krìsti* 'to fall') and the absolute majority of those with a present tense *st*-suffix, e. g. *trū̃ko* (: *trū̃ksta : trū̃kti* 'to be lacking'). Observe, however: *gìmė* vs. pres. *gìmsta* (: inf. *gìmti* 'to be born') and *mìrė* vs. pres. *mìršta* (: inf. *miř̃ti* 'to die'). Further, the *o*-perterite is automatic if the preterite stem is in *-j*, e. g. *lìjo* (: *lýti* 'to rain'), *viẽnijo* (: *viẽnyti* 'to unite'). A preterite stem ending in *-j* is also characteristic of the verbs of the IInd conjugation as well as those of III B, cf. above.

In many cases a close relationship between the infinitive and preterite stems can be observed in contrast to the stem of the present tense. This is best demonstrated with monosyllabic verbs of conjugation I, see p. 111 f. below. The root vocalism of the two stems rarely differs in quality. The preterite (*ė*-preterites only) is often characterized through a long root vowel which for phonological reasons (p. 33) has been shortened in the infinitive (e. g. *gérti* 'to drink' vs. *gẽrė*). In a case like *lýti* 'to rain' vs. *lìjo* the **ī* is likely to have been segmented into *-ĭ* + *j* before the vocalic suffix (*-o*) whereby the original identity between the two stems has become obscured. Also in the case of class III A verbs an original identity between the preterite and infinitive stem can have been lost

since, for example, the stem form **matī* (cf. *matý-ti* 'look') could possibly have yielded *mat-* with disappearance of *j* (< **ī*) before *-ė* (< **ē*).

## Accentuation

*a) Unprefixed verbs*

As far as *unprefixed* verbs are concerned the accent rules are the same as described for the present tense above (p. 101 f.), i. e. de Saussure's Law is implemented in the 1st and 2nd sg. when the syllable immediately before the ending is non-acute, thus, for example:

*mačiaũ, mateĩ, mãtė* vs. *gẽriau, gẽrei, gẽrė*

Here *-aũ, eĩ* originates from **-áu, -éi* as a result of *metatony*, cf. p. 34.

*b) Prefixed verbs*

Verbs without retraction should be distinguished from those where retraction occurs. Those of the former type follow the same principle as unprefixed verbs, i. e. the stress moves only as a result of the effect of de Saussure's law (for examples, see below).

Retraction of stress onto the prefix (in all forms) takes place in a number of cases according to similar, but somewhat less complicated rules than in the present tense. Retraction occurs only in the *ė*-preterite, not the *o*-preterite which eliminates all verbs of the IInd conjugation and part of the Ist conjugational verbs as well as conjugation III B. (infinitives in *-oti*). Further, there is a constraint against retraction with verbs with *o*-type present forms which also eliminates III A (infinitives in *-yti*). We are then left with the *ė*-preterites of the 1st conjugation where retraction takes place if the root syllable shows circumflex or a short vowel (the latter marked with a grave `).

Examples with retraction:

*ìšmušiau, ìšmušei, ìšmušė* (: *išmùšti* 'knock out'); *ìšnešiau, ìšnešei, ìšnešė* (: *išnèšti* 'carry out'); *nùėmiau, nùėmei, nùėmė* (: *nuimĩti* 'take away'); *pàruošiau, pàruošei, pàruošė* (: *paruõšti* 'make ready').

With more than one prefix conditions are parallel to those described for the present tense above in that the stress falls on the prefix next to the root syllable.

Examples without retraction:

*pamylẽjau, pamylẽjai, pamylẽjo* (: *pamylẽti* 'to love'), *paieškójau, paieškójai, paieškójo* (: *paieškóti* 'to search'), *išlaikiaũ, išlaikeĩ, išlaĩkė* (: *išlaikýti* 'to sustain'), *nupirkaũ, nupirkaĩ, nupiřko* (: *nupiřkti* 'to buy')

*Reflexive forms:*

The principles for accentuation of reflexive preterites do not deviate from those of non-reflexive forms if one bears in mind the general rule that the reflexive particle (affix) is inserted between other prefixes and the root in which case it can be stressed according to the rules for retraction presented above, e. g. *pasìruošiau, pasìruošei, pasìruošė* (: *pasiruõšti* 'to prepare oneself')

*2. The Frequentative Past*
*(Būtàsis dažnìnis laĩkas)*

The frequentative past is formed on the basis of the infinitive stem by addition of the infix *-dav-* which automatically requires the *o*-suffix.

Some examples:
*gér-dav-au, gér-dav-ai, gér-dav-o* etc. (: *gér-ti* 'to drink'), *dìrb-dav-au, dìrb-dav-ai, dìrb-dav-o* etc. (: *dìrb-ti* 'to work'), *mylė̃-dav-au, mylė̃-dav-ai, mylė̃-dav-o* (: *mylė̃-ti* 'to love'), *skaitý-dav-au, skaitý-dav-ai, skaitý-dav-o* (: *skaitýti* 'to read'), *ieškó-dav-au, ieškó-dav-ai, ieškó-dav-o* (: *ieškó-ti* 'to look for').

The *accent* always repeats that of the infinitive and rests on the same syllable throughout the paradigm. Neither root intonation nor prefixation can lead to a movement of the accent.

## III. The Future Tense

*(Būsimàsis laĩkas)*

The future tense is formed from the infinitive by dropping the *-ti* and adding *-si-* plus the personal endings which are the same as in the present and past tenses.

In the 1st p. sg. the *-i-* has yielded **j* before the vocalic desinence *-u* (cf. p. 24). Further, **j* has merged with the preceding *s*-formative, yielding a palatalized *s* (written *-si-u*, cf. p. 23 above). The development is thus parallel with that observed in the 1 p. sg. of the present tense of verbs of the IInd conjugation.

*1. Verbs of the First Conjugation*

Paradigms with comments:

| a) | b) | c) | d) | e) | f) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *pir̃k-ti* | *dìrb-ti* | *mès-ti* | *mègz-ti* | *nèš-ti* | *vèž-ti* |
| 'to buy' | 'to work' | 'to throw' | 'to knit' | 'to carry' | 'to carry' |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 pĩrksiu | dìrbsiu | mèsiu | mègsiu | nèšiu | vèšiu |
| 2 pĩrksi | dìrbsi | mèsi | mègsi | nèši | vèši |
| 3 pĩrks | dĩrbs | mès | mègs | nèš | vèš |
| 1 pĩrksime | dìrbsime | mèsime | mègsime | nèšime | vèšime |
| 2 pĩrksite | dìrbsite | mèsite | mègsite | nèšite | vèšite |

Paradigm a) is regular in every respect and does not need any further comment.

The *3rd* p. of some verbs are irregular since *either shortenings or shift of intonation from acute to circumflex* (so-called *métatonie douce*) may occur. The latter irregularity, i. e. metatony, is observed in paradigm b).

Other examples with *metatony* in the 3. p. than *dĩrbs* are, for example: *geĩs* (: *gérti* 'drink'), *kaĩls* (: *kálti* 'forge'), *gyveñs* (: *gyvénti* 'live') and *duõs (: dúoti* 'give').

*Shortening* of *acuted ū* and *ī* to *ù* and *ì* takes place in *monosyllabic* stems of the structure *Cū-ti* and *Cī-ti* provided that the root vowel of the simple past is short, cf., for example: *bū́-ti* 'be' : *bùs* (vs. *bū́siu, bū́si, bū́sime, bū́site)* : past *bùvo, pū́-ti* 'rot' : *pùs* : past *pùvo; lý-ti* 'rain': *lìs* : past *lìjo, gý-ti* 'heal, recover' : *gìs* : past *gìjo.* There are two exceptions to this rule: *siū́ti* 'sew' and *vý-ti* 'chase' which have *siũs* and *vỹs* in the 3 p. (probably to avoid homonymy with *siùs* and *vìs* from *siùsti* 'be furious' and *vìsti* 'breed'). All other monosyllabic *Cū-ti* and *Cī-ti* stems retain the vocalism of the infintive whereby verbs with an acute intonation in the infinitive adopt the circumflex in the 3 p. of the future tense, e. g. *lū́ž-ti* 'break' : *lũ̃š* (past *lūžo*), *dýg-ti* 'sprout' : *dỹgs* (past *dýgo*).

In monosyllabic verbs with circumflex intonation in the infinitive the circumflex is, of course, retained in all forms of the future tense, e. g. *blỹkšti* 'become pale' : *blỹkš.*

Monosyllabic verbs with a short *i* and *u* in the infinitive are equally unproblematic; they retain the short accent of the infinitive: *sprùkti* 'run away': *sprùks, brìsti* 'wade' : *brìs.*

When the infinitive stem ends in one of the consonants *-s, -š, -z* or *-ž*, assimilation and simplification take place according to the scheme *s/z* + *s* > *s*, *š/ž* + *s* > *š*, cf. samples c), d), e) and f) above. Thus, instead of **mes-siu, *megz-siu, *nešiu* and **vež-siu* one arrives at *mesiu, megsiu, nešiu and vešiu.*

*2. Verbs of the Second and Third Conjugations*

Here the infinitive stem always ends in a vowel and contains more than one syllable whence no complications are encountered other than the regular shift from acute to circumflex intonation in the 3 p. A couple of examples will suffice:

| | II conjugation: | | III conjugation: |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *mylė́-ti* 'to love' | *skaitý-ti* 'to read' | *ieškóti* 'to look for' |
| 1 p. sg. | mylė́siu | skaitýsiu | ieškósiu |
| 2 p. sg. | mylė́si | skaitýsi | ieškósi |
| 3 p. | mylẽs | skaitỹs | ieškõs |
| 1 p. pl. | mylė́sime | skaitýsime | ieškósime |
| 2 p. pl. | mylė́site | skaitýsite | ieškósite |

*Reflexive Forms*

Finally a couple of examples of reflexive paradigms should be given:

| *matýti-s* 'to learn' | *su-si-tìkti* 'to meet' |
|---|---|
| 1 p. sg. matýsiuos(i) | susitìksiu |
| 2 p. sg. matýsies(i) | susitìksi |
| 3 p. matỹsis | susitìks |
| 1 p. pl. matýsimės | susitìksime |
| 2 p. pl. matýsitės | susitìksite |

**Accentuation**

Both in non-reflexive and reflexive verbs the *stress* is always on the same syllable as in the infinitive in all forms of the paradigm. This means that de Saussure's law does not operate in the future tense. Nor do any accent movements occur in prefixed forms.

The *intonation* also repeats that of the infinitive *except in the 3rd p.* where an *acute* intonation is changed into *circumflex* according to the mechanism described as *métatonie douce* on p. 107 above.

In *monosyllabic* verbs of the structure *Cū-ti* and *Cī-ti* a shortening of the vowel to *ù* and *ì* in the 3. p. takes place in some verbs of this structure whereas in others shortening does not occur, but a shift from *acute* to *circumflex* (i. e. *métatonie douce*) is encountered instead. For rules and examples, see above.

The motivation for the shift from acute to circumflex or shortening respectively in the 3rd p. has to be sought in the principles laid down on p. 35 above and should be classified as a phenomenon linked with the special conditions found in word final position.

It might be expected that the acute had been retained in the 3. p. of reflexive future forms since the syllables in question will occur not in word final, but word-internal position. However, as illustrated by the form *matỹsis* in the above paradigm, the reflexives follow the analogy of the non-reflexive forms and undergo the shift from acute to circumflex.

## Principal Forms
*(Pagrindìnės fòrmos)*

As mentioned above (p. 93 f.) three stems, i. e. that of the infinitive, the present and - to a certain extent - also the preterite, are necessary to enable the student to conjugate Lithuanian verbs correctly.

IInd and IIIrd conjugational verbs cause little trouble. For criteria for their recognition on the basis of the infinitive, see p. 96. Difficulties are encountered above all among verbs of the Ist conjugation, many of which are irregular in that they show vowel alternations (*ablaut*). Further, as pointed out on p. 98 above, the present tense of Ist conjugational verbs can contain an unpredictable nasal infix, a suffix in *-j-* or *-st*. Finally, which verbs form an *ė*-preterite and which *o*-, is only partly predictable, see p. 104 above. Therefore a presentation of the main patterns of the principal forms of verbs of the Ist conjuagtion is inevitable. The principal forms will - as is also customary in Lithuanian tradition - be given in the infinitive, the 3rd p. present and preterite tenses. The 3rd p. of certain future tense forms causes some trouble, but they can be accounted for according to adequate rules; therefore the future tense (on which, see p. 106 ff. above) is not included among the principal-forms.

### I. The Verb *bū́ti* 'to be'

This verb - as in many other IE languages - has suppletive forms. Thus, the preterite tense is *bùvo* (3 p.) whereas the present is formed from *es*-, i. e. sg. 1 p. *esù*, 2 p. *esì*, pl. 1 p. *ẽsame*, 2 p. *ẽsate*. The 3 p. sg./pl. *yrà* is formed from a different root than the other forms.

The form *yrà* has a variant *ẽsti*, see p. 144. There also exists a present tense paradigm *būnù, būnì, bū̃na, bū̃name, bū̃nate* with frequentative meaning.

## II. Principal Forms with ablaut

*1. Long Vowel in the Infinitive and the Past vs. Originally (cf. p. 28 f.) Short in the Present Tense*

| *ē* | : | *e [ɛ]/[æ:]* | : | *ē* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| lẽ̃kti | : | lekiù/lẽkia | : | lẽ̃kė | ('fly') |
| grẽ̃sti | : | gresiù/grẽsia | : | grẽ̃sė | ('threaten') |

| *ō* | : | *a [a]/[a:]* | : | *ō* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| võgti | : | vagiù /vãgia | : | võgė | ('steal') |

| *ū* | : | *u* | : | *ū* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| pũ̃sti | : | pùčia | : | pũ̃tė | ('blow') |

The *ī : i : ī* series seems to be missing.

*2. Long Vowel in the Past vs. Short in the Infinitive and the Present Tense (Resonant Stems), cf. p. 28 f.*

| *e [æ·]* | : *e [ɛ]/[æ:]* | : *ē* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| gérti | : geriù/gẽria | : gẽ́rė | ('drink') |
| kélti | : keliù/kẽlia | : kẽ́lė | ('lift; raise') |
| remti | : remiù/rẽmia | : rẽ̃mė | ('support') |

| *a [a·]* | : *a [a]/[a:]* | : *o (< *ā)* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| kárti | : kariù/kãria | : kórė | ('hang') |

Observe the two anomalous soft resonant stems which do not show ablaut: *árti : ãria : ãrė* 'to plow' and *tarti : tãria : tãrė* 'to utter'

| *u* | : | *u* | : | *ū* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dùrti | : | dùria | : | dū́rė | ('stab') |

kùrti : kùria : kū́rė ('create; found; kindle /the fire/')

*i* : *i* : *ī*

*ja*-presents:

gìlti : gìlia : gýlė ('sting')
skìrti : skìria : skýre ('separate, detach')
spìrti : spìria : spýrė ('kick')
tìrti : tìria : týrė ('examine; explore')

*a*-presents:

gìnti : gìna : gýnė ('defend')
mìnti : mìna : mýnė ('trample down')
pìlti : pìla : pýlė ('pour')
pìnti : pìna : pýnė ('twist; weawe')
skìnti skìna : skýnė ('pick, pluck')

The verb

imt̃i : ìma : ẽmė ('take') is unique and should be treated apart.

A place of its own is further required by

dúoti : dúoda : dãvė ('give')

*3. Short -i- in the Infinitive and the Past Tense vs. -e- in the Present Tense*

*a) o-preterite in the CVRC-structures:*

kir̃pti : ker̃pa : kir̃po ('cut')
kir̃sti : ker̃ta : kir̃to ('fell /a tree/)
pir̃kti : per̃ka : pir̃ko ('buy')
riñkti : reñka : riñko ('gather; collect; choose')
sir̃gti : ser̃ga : sir̃go ('be ill')
vil̃kti : vel̃ka : vil̃ko ('carry, drag')
lį̃sti : leñda : liñdo ('crawl')

*b) Observe the ė-preterite in the CVR-structures:*

giñti : gẽna : gìnė 'chase'

giñti : gẽna : gìnė 'chase'
miñti : mẽna : mìnė 'remember'

Some verbs have a *nasal infix* in addition to the *ė*-degree in the present tense:

brìsti : breñda : brìdo ('wade')
skrìsti : skreñda : skrìdo ('fly')

Note the dental suffix (*-d*) in the present tense of the verb

vìrti : vérda : vìrė ('boil; cook')

*4. Long Vowel in the Present Tense vs. Short in the Infinitive and the Past Tense*

In all cases with a contrast long vowel in the present tense vs. short vowel in the preterite and the infinitive the long vowel has arisen from the combination short vowel + a nasal infix, due to the development described as the nasalization rule, see p. 29 above. The present tense characteristically shows circumflex intonation.

*a) Stems in -r or -l:*

*i* : *ī* : *i*

bìrti : bỹra* : bìro ('sprinkle')
kìlti : kỹla : kìlo ('/a/rise')
svìrti : svỹra : svìro ('hang /down/)'
šìlti : šỹla : šìlo ('get warm')
*(< *bi-n-r-a)
*u* : *ū* : *u*

bjùrti : bjū̃ra : bjùro ('grow nasty/bad')
*(< *bju-n-r-a)

In cases with *ą̄* and *ę̄* in the present tense the opposition in terms of vocalic timbre between the present tense and the preterite is only orthographical (except for possible 1st and 2nd sg. forms where the *-a-/-e-* in the preterite root is unstressed and consequently short as opposed to the always long root vowel of the present tense):

bálti : bą̄la : bãlo ('become white')
šálti : šą̄la : šãlo ('get cold')

gvérti : gvę̃ra: gvẽro ('get loose')

*b) Other stems*

The following two series *ī : ī : i* and *ū : ū : u* with present *ī* and *ū* (< **i*+*n* / **u* + *n*) before *j* and *v* are commented upon on p. 98 f. above

| *ī* | : | *ī* | : | *i* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| lýti | : | lỹja | : | lìjo | ('rain') |
| rýti | : | rỹja | : | rìjo | ('swallow') |

| *ū* | : | *ū* | : | *u* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| griū́ti | : | griū̃va | : | griùvo | ('fall /down/') |
| žū́ti | : | žū̃va | : | žùvo | ('perish; die') |

Infinitive and Present with *-au-* (+ *-n-* or *-j-*) vs. *-ov-* in the Preterite is observed in cases like

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| griáuti | : | griáuna | : | grióvė | ('destroy') |
| pjáuti | : | pjáuna | : | pjóvė | ('cut') |
| pláuti | : | pláuna | : | plóvė | ('wash') |
| ráuti | : | ráuna | : | róvė | ('tear /up/') |
| šáuti | : | šáuna | : | šóvė | ('shoot') |

The nasal infix is restricted to a number of *intransitive* verbs. An intransitive present tense marker is also the *st*-suffix which is found in a considerable number of verbs. A couple of examples: *rìmti : rìmsta : rìmo* 'be quiet', *sklýsti : sklýsta : sklýdo* 'run (about ink)'.

### III. Principal Forms without ablaut

It is practical to include patterns also of this kind in order to contrast them with the *ablaut* verbs:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| dègti | : | dẽga | : | dẽgė | ('burn') |
| kèpti | : | kepù/kẽpa | : | kẽpė | ('bake; fry') |
| mèsti | : | metù/mẽta | : | mẽtė | ('throw') |
| nèšti | : | nešù/nẽša | : | nẽšė | ('carry') |
| sèkti | : | sekù/sẽka | : | sẽkė | ('follow; watch') |
| vèsti | : | vedù/vẽda | : | vẽdė | ('lead') |
| vèžti | : | vežù/vẽža | : | vẽžė | ('carry') |

bárti : barù/bãra : bãrė ('scold; curse')
kàsti : kasù/kãsa : kãsė ('dig')
málti : malù/mãla : mãlė ('grind')

šókti : šóka : šóko ('jump') N. B. *o*-preterite!

The long vowel of the preterite and the present tense in the verbs listed above is explained by the secondary lengthening rule described in chapter 1 (p. 28 f.). The operation of the rule is restricted to the vowels *-e-* and *-a-*, whence a short vowel appears throughout the paradigm in:

gul̃ti : gùla : gùlė ('lie /down/')
mùšti : mùša : mùšė ('beat; strike')

A long vowel in all principal forms is observed in the verb

ėsti : ėda : ėdė ('eat /about animals/')

The verb

pùlti : púola : púolė 'attack'

also points to a long vowel (*ō > uo) in all forms, but **púolti* was shortened to *pùlti* according to a constraint on trimoric sequences in Lithuanian.

Finally the three verbs *miegóti* 'sleep', *raudóti* 'sob, lament' and *giedóti* 'sing' should be mentioned. In the present tense the *o*-vowel is deleted, e. g. *miegù, miegì, miẽga* etc. vs. *miegójau, miegójai, miegójo* in the past tense.

## Formation of the Compound Tenses
*(Sudurtìnės veiksmãžodžių fòrmos)*

As pointed out above (p. 92) the compound tenses in question are the *present perfect,* the *past perfect* and the *future perfect.*

These forms are constructed with the help of the auxiliary *bū́ti* in the simple present, past (non-frequentative and frequentative) and future tenses respectively followed by the nominative case of the past participle active in the appropriate gender and number. This participle (for the more detailed formation of which, see p.158 f.) is in *-ęs* and *-ę* for the masculine singular and plural respectively whereas the corresponding

masculine singular and plural respectively whereas the corresponding forms of the feminine are in *-usi* and *-usios*. The reflexive endings (in unprefixed verbs) are as follows:
*-ęsis* (m. sg.), *-ęsi* (m. pl.), *-usis* (f. sg.) and *-usiosis* (f. pl.). In prefixed verbs the reflexive particle *-si-* is inserted between the prefix(es) and the root according to the general rule given on p. 97 above.

### I. The Present Perfect
*(Sudurtìnis esamàsis laĩkas)*

Paradigm:

SG 1 p. *aš esù dìrbęs/dìrbusi* 'I have worked'
2 p. *tu esì dìrbęs/dìrbusi* 'you have worked'
3 p. *jis yrà dìrbęs* 'he has worked'
3 p. *ji yrà dìrbusi* 'she has worked'

PL 1 p. *mes ẽsame dìrbę/dìrbusios* 'we have worked'
2 p. *jūs ẽsate dìrbę/dìrbusios** 'you have worked'
3 p. *jie yrà dìrbę* 'they have worked'
3 p. *jos yrà dìrbusios* 'they have worked'

*in polite form: *jūs ẽsate dìrbęs/dìrbusi*

### II. The Past Perfect
*(Sudurtìnis būtàsis laĩkas)*
1) Non-frequentative form:

Paradigm:
SG 1 p. *aš buvaũ dìrbęs/dìrbusi* 'I have worked'
2 p. *tu buvaĩ dìrbęs/dìrbusi* 'you have worked'
3 p. *jis bùvo dìrbęs* 'he has worked'
3 p. *ji bùvo dìrbusi* 'she has worked'

PL 1 p. *mes bùvome dìrbę/dìrbusios* 'we have worked'
2 p. *jūs bùvote dìrbę/dìrbusios** 'you have worked'
3 p. *jie bùvo dìrbę* 'they have worked'
3 p. *jos bùvo dìrbusios* 'they have worked'

*in polite form: *jūs bùvote dìrbęs/dìrbusi*

2) Frequentative form:

Paradigm:

1 p. *aš bū́davau dìrbęs/dìrbusi* 'I had worked (at intervals)'
2 p. *tu bū́davai dìrbęs/dìrbusi* 'you had work (at intervals)'
3 p. *jis bū́davo dìrbęs* 'he had worked (at intervals)'
3 p. *ji bū́davai dìrbusi* 'she had worked (at intervals)' etc.

These forms are rare.

### III. The Future Perfect
*(Sudurtìnis būsimàsis laĩkas)*

Paradigm:

SG 1 p. *aš bū́siu dìrbęs/dìrbusi* 'I shall have worked'
2 p. *tu bū́si dìrbęs/dìrbusi* 'you will have worked'
3 p. *jis bùs dìrbęs* 'he will have worked'
3 p. *ji bùs dìrbusi* 'she will have worked'

PL 1 p. *mes bū́sime dìrbę/dìrbusios* 'we shall have worked'
2 p. *jūs bū́site dìrbę/dìrbusios** 'you will have worked'

*in polite form: *jūs būsite dìrbęs/dìrbusi*

### IV. Formation of the Thwarted Inceptive and Progressive Forms

These forms are also compound. However, they should probably be more adequately conceived as *aktionsart* or *aspect* forms (see. p. 127 below) than as tenses. Still, at least the *inceptive* is used with auxiliaries in the past and future and is thus in a way subordinated to the tense system whence it appears practical to give a brief description of its formation here.

In the indicative active three forms of the inceptive are distinguished. They are constructed with the help of the auxiliary *bū́ti* in the past (non-frequentative and frequentative) or future tenses respectively in combination with the present participle (cf. p. 158 below) prefixed with the particle *be-*. This participle is in *-ąs* and *-ą* for the masc. sg. and pl., in *-anti* and *-ančios* for the fem. sg. and pl.

Paradigms with the *thwarted inceptive* with auxiliary in the *past* tense:

1) non-frequentative form:
1 p. *aš buvaũ bedirbą̃s/bedìrbanti* 'I was about to start working'
2 p. *tu buvaĩ bedirbą̃s/bedìrbanti* 'you were about to start working'
3 p. *jis bùvo bedirbą̃s* 'he was about to start working'
3 p. *ji bùvo bedìrbanti* 'she was about to start working'
etc.

2) frequentative form:
1 p. *aš bū́davau bedirbą̃s/bedìrbanti* 'I used to be about to start working'
2 p. *tu bū́davai bedirbą̃s/bedìrbanti* 'you used to be about to start working'
3 p. *jis bū́davo bedirbą̃s* 'he used to be about to start working'
3 p. *ji bū́davo bedìrbanti* 'she used to be about to start working'
etc.

Paradigms with the *thwarted inceptive* with auxiliary in the *future* tense:

1 p. *aš bū́siu bedirbą̃s/bedìrbanti* 'I shall be about to start working'
2 p. *tu bū́si bedirbą̃s/bedìrbanti* 'you will be about to start working'
3 p. *jis bùs bedirbą̃s* 'he will be about to start working'
3 p. *ji bùs bedìrbanti*

The *progressive* has the same appearance as the inceptive, only with a double prefix: *tebe-* (= *te+be*).

The progressive is *restricted to the present tense*: *jis tebėrà (< te+ be + yra) rašą̃s* 'he is still writing'. To render 'be + -ing' in other tenses than the present, the adverb *dar* 'still' + a finite verb form must be used: *jis dar rašė* 'he was still writing'.

The meaning of the *progressive* is illustrated through its translation into English.

The *inceptive* and *progressive* will be referred to also in the section on aspect and tense.

# ASPECT AND TENSE
*(Veīkslas ir laīkas)*

## Introduction

The disposition of this section will be as follows:

I. Aspect (with the subsection *Aktionsarten*)
II. Tense
III. Tense/aspect forms

It is natural to introduce aspect before the description of the use of tenses since it appears practical to present tense with some view also to aspect. Although principally different, aspect and tense are intimately interwoven. This interaction is perhaps especially transparent in III.

## I. Aspect

It is not easy to give a precise overall *definition* of the notion of aspect. It says something about *how* an action is performed according to *two* parameters labeled *imperfective* and *perfective* respectively.

The *perfective* perspective implies that the action is looked upon as *accomplished*, or, to put it in a more abstract way, in its *totality*.

The *imperfective* perspective is that of an *action in process*, i. e. not accomplished, not viewed in its totality. This meaning is expressed in English by the the so-called *progressive* with the auxiliary *be* + *-ing* form of the main verb.

The participation of two members, perfective and imperfective, makes it possible to regard aspect as a *binary* (privative) opposition whereby only one member of the opposition is defined in positive terms, *in casu* the perfective which is said to be *marked*, i. e. has the feature [+ totality], in contrast to the imperfective which is *unmarked* with respect to this feature.

The following question arises: Can aspect be regarded as a *grammatical category* in Lithuanian?

Grammaticalization implies a *mandatory* formal (morphological) expression of some definite semantic function. The requirements of both a specific *form* and *function* are crucial to the question of grammaticalization.

Let us test the question of the existence of a grammaticalized aspect in Lithuanian by considering the following two verb forms: *rãšė*

'was/were writing' and *parãšė* 'wrote'. From a *functional-semantic* point of view they are clearly distinct, cf. their translations into the English *continuous* (progressive) vs. *non-continuous* (non-progressive) respectively, which reflect an aspectual opposition. *Formally* they differ through the absence vs. presence of a prefix. So far the requirements for assuming grammaticalization of aspect in Lithuanian seem to be fulfilled.

*Prefixation* is a regular strategy in Lithuanian for deriving verbs with perfective meaning from unprefixed verbs. The latter are as a rule imperfective. The verb *rašýti* can take several prefixes, but *pa-* is the only one which does not supply this verb with an essentially new meaning. With *rašýti* it may be said to be an *empty* (or near to empty) prefix in contrast to, for example, *pér-* which in combination with the verb in question creates a new verb semantically distinct from the basic one: *pérrašyti* 'to rewrite'. As could be expected, the form *pérrašė* has the perfective meaning of 'rewrote'. To render the meaning of 'was/were rewriting' a verb with the suffix *-inė-* must be used: *pérrašinėjo.*

*Suffixation* (with *-inė-*) is a normal procedure for deriving imperfectives from prefixed perfectives.

Despite the fact that the number of cases where a prefixed and an unprefixed verb differ only with respect to aspect alone is rather small, there should still be sufficient evidence to conclude that aspect is a grammatical category in Lithuanian. However, the picture is complicated by the following circumstance: when used in the present tense a verb like *pérrašyti* can have imperfective meaning: *jis dabar perrašo laišką* 'he is now rewriting a/the letter'. With the same meaning one can also say: *jis dabar perrašinėja laišką*. The use of the imperfective in *-inė-* is *optional* in the present tense. Thus, the situation is not as clearcut as in the Slavic languages where the grammaticalization of aspect is formalized to a higher degreee without optional choices dependent on tense. Still, for Lithuanian it seems legitimate to speak of aspect as a grammatical, and not primarily a lexical category.

## Perfectivization

The commonest prefix for creating *neutral* perfectives, i. e. perfectives which do not obtain a radically new meaning in comparison with the corresponding unprefixed verb, is *pa-*, cf. beside the pair *rašýti : parašýti* for example also *darýti : padarýti* 'do', *sodìnti : pasodìnti* 'plant'. The neutral perfective to *pir̃kti* 'buy', however, is *nupir̃kti*, to *áugti* 'grow' *užáugti*, to *mùšti* 'beat; defeat' *sumùšti*. It is perhaps possible to speak also of *išáugti* and *primùšti* as neutral perfectives.

## Imperfectivization

Here we have in mind the mechanism of deriving *secondary* imperfectives from perfectives, cf., for example, *pérrašýti* (PF) vs. *pérrašinėti* (IPF), both meaning 'rewrite'.

Prefixed verbs without the suffix *-inė-* can be imperfective (in all tenses). This is the case for a verb like, for instance, *priklausýti* 'belong to' with a lexicalized prefix.

For aspect oppositions in such forms as the *infinitive, the gerunds and the participles*, see the section on non-finite verb forms.

## Aktionsarten
*(Procedurals)*

In to-day's linguistics a *distinction* is made between *aspect* and *aktionsart* (there is no commonly accepted term in English although 'procedurals' has been suggested).

The notion of *aktionsarten* is somewhat loose, which means that a universally accepted definition has not yet been arrived at. Many investigators would, however, subscribe to the following concept: like aspect, the term *aktionsarten* also says something about how an action is performed, but contrary to aspect, 'aktionsart(en)' is conceived as a *lexical*, not grammatical category. The 'aktionsart' *modifies the lexical meaning of the verb in question.* Thus, a verb like, for instance, *pastovėti* can hardly be conceived as a neutral perfective to *stovėti* 'stand' since *pa-* in this case is not felt to be semantically empty, but has the meaning '(for) a little (while)/some time', whence *pastovėti* is said to belong to the *limitative aktionsart.* The relationship between *pérrašýti* and *rašýti* can also be determined as one of *aktionsart* since *pér-* modifies the meaning of *rašýti.*

Most investigators seem to consider also *iterativity* as an 'aktionsart', and not an aspect. Verbs in *-inėti* can have such meaning. Thus, isolated from the context a sentence like *jis perrrašinėjo laišką* is ambiguous and can either be interpreted as 'he rewrote the letter several/many times' or 'he was rewriting the letter'. Also *habituality*, for which Lithuanian has a special suffix *-dav-* (restricted to the past tense, e. g. *rašýdavo* 'used to write/would write') can be put into the basket of *aktionsart,* rather than that of aspect.

As is seen from the two preceding passages, *aktionsarten* are formally expressed in the same way as aspect, namely through

prefixation and suffixation, but whereas the *number* of the grammaticalized *aspects* is limited to *two*, the imperfective and the perfective, the number of the *aktionsarten* as a lexical category is *indefinite*, dependent on what kind of lexical categories one will establish.

# II. Tense

As pointed out above (p. 92) there are six tenses in Standard Lithuanian, namely three *simple* (i. e. the past, present and future) and three compound (the past perfect, /present/ perfect and future perfect). Thus, for the indicative active the following concrete paradigm for the verb */pa/rašýti* 'write' in the 3rd p.can be presented:

| | **Past** | **Present** | **Future** |
|---|---|---|---|
| IPF | *rãšė* | *rãšo* | *rašỹs* |
| PF | *parãšė* | *parãšo* | *parašỹs* |

| | **Past Perfect** | **Present Perfect** | **Future Perfect** |
|---|---|---|---|
| IPF | bùvo rãšęs | yrà rãšęs | bùs rãšęs |
| PF | bùvo parãšęs | yrà parãšęs | bùs parãšęs |

The *formation* of the tenses has been dealt with above (p. 97 ff.). In the following the meaning and use of the tenses will be described. Further, an *interaction* between aspect and tense will be observed. A good illustration is that of *ateĩna* 'is coming' (pres.) vs. *atẽjo* 'came' (pret.), *ateĩs* 'will come' (fut.).

In the presentation of tense oppositions and meanings below it appears appropriate to distinguish between perfective and imperfective forms.

## Simple Tenses

### 1. The Present Tense

*(Esamàsis laĩkas)*

Consider the following sentence pairs:

*jis rašo laišką : jis parašo laišką*

The former corresponds to English 'he is writing a letter (just now)' whereas the latter should be extended with an adverbial like, for instance, *kasdien* 'every day' to sound natural. Thus, unlike Slavic, the perfective present of Lithuanian (and Latvian) does not obtain future meaning, but retains that of the present tense, however in a more *abstract* or *general* sense than the *concrete hic et nunc* function of the imperfective present.

The abstract and general sense of the perfective is further typically illustrated through an example like *žemė apsisuka aplink saulę per vienerius metus* 'the earth revolves around the sun in one year' (in contrast to *žemė sukasi* (ipf) *aplink saulę* 'the earth revolves/is revolving around the sun'). The perfective present cannot answer questions like 'what is going on just now?' In the example just quoted also some kind of *resultativity* is in the picture *(per vienerius metus)*.

The perfective present is further used in the function of the "praesens historicum", e. g. [...] *jis sumuša kryžiuočius* 'he defeated (defeats) the Knights of the Cross'.

Following rather obscure rules, a perfective present can be used to express *ability*, cf. for example *vaikas jau paskaito* 'the child already reads (is able to read)', but also the imperfective *skaito* is possible in this context. Surprisingly enough, in an apparently analogous case such as 'the child already writes and calculates' imperfective (non-prefixed) verbs are required: [...] *rašo ir skaičiuoja*. The same holds good in the following example: 'the child already stands/walks' > *vaikas stovi/vaikščioja*. The variants **pastovi/pavaikščoja* would imply *limitation* ('a little, for some/a short time') which is conditioned by the verb in question (in other cases, for example *papjauna* 'cuts', this nuance is not present).

To fulfill the so-called *inclusive* function Lithuanian has to make use of the (imperfective) present in cases like *jis gyvena Vilniuje jau dešimt metų* 'he has been living in Vilnius for ten years' (and is still living there). Here Lithuanian goes with Slavic, German and Dutch as well as the Romance languages in opposition to English, Danish and Norwegian where the perfect tense must be used. Swedish allows both constructions.

The meaning of the present tense in Lithuanian (and many other languages) can be expressed by the following formula:

E simul S

which reads 'E is simultaneous with S' where E stands for 'event' and S for 'moment of speech'.

**2. The Past Tense**
*(Būtàsis laĩkas)*
Contrast the following sentence pairs:

jis perrašė laišką : jis perrašinėjo laišką

The former should be rendered as 'he rewrote/finished rewriting the letter' whereas the latter corresponds to English 'he was rewriting the letter (then)'. The use of the imperfective verb *perrašinėti* is obligatory in the progressive sense represented in the latter example to the exclusion of **perrašė*. In comparison with the present tense where both *perrašinėja* and *perrašo* can have the progressive meaning, an important difference is observed, namely that in the past tense the special imperfective is not only *optional* but *obligatory* to convey the progressive meaning with this verb. However, the number of verbs encompassed by this strategy is restricted. The so-called frequentative past in *-dav-* would mean 'many times' (e. g. *jis perrašydavo laišką*) and could therefore not have been used in the context in question.

The meaning of the Lithuanian past can be illustrated in the following way:

E before S

In dependent *clauses of time* the past perfective is often rendered by the English pluperfect: *Kai jis parašė laišką, draugas jį pakvietė į kiną* 'when he had written the letter, a friend invited him to the movies' (as opposed to *kai jis rašė laišką, atėjo draugas* 'when he was writing the letter, a friend came /in/')

**3. The Future Tense**
*(Būsimàsis laĩkas)*
Much of the same that has been said about the simple past above in terms of aspectuality can be repeated for the future tense. To denote an action in process, in its duration, the imperfective *perrašinės*, not **perrašys* must be used. Thus, only the former is possible in the following context: *ryt jis visą dieną sėdės ir perrašinės laiškus* 'tomorrow he will be sitting the whole day (and) rewriting letters'. This strategy, however, is not applicable with all verbs.

The basic meaning of the Lithuanian simple future can be diagrammed in this way:

E after S

This is illustrated, for example, in: *rytoj jis atvyks į Vilnių* 'tomorrow he'll arrive in Vilnius'.

Note that in clauses of time the Lithuanian simple future can correspond to the perfect in English: *Kai jis parašys laišką, jis išeis* 'when he has written the letter, he'll go out'. The action described in the adverbial clause takes place prior to that of the main clause.

**Modal Uses of the Simple Future**

Finally, mention should be made of the fact that the (simple) future (as in many other languages) can acquire *modal* nuances (see also section on mood), cf. for example *eisim!* where the 1st pl. future has the sense of an *adhortative*: 'let's go!' In the following example the 2nd sg. future expresses a *command: štai tau nauja knyga - paskaitysi be žodyno* 'here is a new book - read (you should read) it without a dictionary'. However, the modal meaning may be conceived as *additional* to that of tense since the future meaning is transparent in spite of the modal nuances.

## Compound Tenses

The compound tenses denote the result of a past event projected into the present, past or future respectively.

**1. The Present Perfect**

*(Sudurtìnis esamàsis laĩkas)*

This tense denotes a past event seen from the perspective of the present (a kind of indefinite past).

The meaning of this form can be diagrammed in the following way:

(Ea before R) + (Es simul R)

where the symbol Ea refers to the verbal action, R to "reference point" and Es to a state resulting from that action.

A concrete illustration would be: *jis yra atėjęs* 'he has come (and is still here)'. It is possible, but unusual to say, for example, *jis yra atėjęs vakar* with inclusion of the adverbial *vakar* 'yesterday'. More informal than *jis parašė laišką vakar* is *jis yra parašęs laišką vakar.* In cases like the following: *aš esu miegojęs/dirbęs vakar (vieną valandą)* 'I slept/ worked yesterday (for one hour)' with imperfective verbs denoting state/duration, the use of the compound present seems absolutely normal despite the adverbial of time.

### 2. The Past Perfect

*(Sudurtìnis būtàsis laĩkas)*

The following example *kai jis buvo atvykęs į Vilnių, jį pasitiko kolegos* is hardly adequately translated into English by the pluperfect, i. e. 'when he had arrived in Vilnius, he was met by colleagues' since *buvo atvykęs* indicates 'had arrived and was'. To obtain the meaning 'had arrived' pure and simple the adverb *jau* 'already' should be added. Thus, the basic meaning of the Lithuanian compound past can probably be described as a perfect (see further below) projected into the past. This meaning could be expressed by a *tripartite* formula, i. e.

(Ea before R) + (Es simul R) + (R before S)

where the symbol Ea refers to the verbal action, and Es to a state resulting from that action. Contrary to the Lithuanian compound past the English (and Scandinavian) pluperfect seems to be most adequately described by a *bipartite* formula, namely E before R before S. In many instances (cf. also the paragraph on the simple past above) the English pluperfect is rendered by the (perfective) simple past in Lithuanian.

### The Future Perfect

*(Sudurtìnis būsimàsis laĩkas)*

As a typical example of the compound future may serve: *Rytoj jis jau bus išvykęs* 'to-morrow he'll already have gone'.

For a difference between the compound and the simple future contrast the following sentence pairs: *jis (jau) bus atėjęs penktą valandą* and *jis ateis penktą valandą*. The former example means 'he will (already) have come *by* five o'clock' whereas the latter should be rendered as 'he'll come at five o'clock'.

The basic meaning of the Lithuanian compound future can probably be expressed by the following formula:

E before R after S

where R denotes a 'reference point'. The reference point is the event expressed in the main clause.

If this description of the Lithuanian compound future is correct and the meaning of the simple future is adequately described as E after S, one should expect the compound future to occur only in compound sentences with *sequential* actions, whereas the simple future could be

characterized as unmarked since it should be able to express both sequence and simultaneity (probably limited by aspect).

**Modal Nuances of the Compound Future**

Finally, it should be stated that, like the simple future, the compound future can also acquire *modal* nuances as shown by the following example: *jie turbūt bus jau atėję* 'they will probably already have arrived'.

**Limitations**

The above presentation has been confined to the active voice and the finite verb. For tense in the passive voice as well as in the non-finite verbal system, i. e. participles and gerunds, see sections on voice and the non-finite verb.

In the marked moods, i. e. other moods than the indicative, the number of tenses is reduced. This seems to be a kind of linguistic universal. For the tenses of the marked moods we refer to the section on mood.

## III. Tense/Aspect Forms

In addition to the above tense formations Lithuanian has certain other forms, namely

1) the *thwarted inceptive* (only past and future) *bùvo/bùs be(pa)rašą̃s* 'was/will be about to write'

2) the *progressive* (only present) *tebėrà rašą̃s* 'is still writing'.

For the formation of the thwarted inceptive and the progressive, see p. 116 above. These formations are probably more adequately described within an aspectival (or *aktionsart*) than a tense perspective. They will not be further elaborated in this short grammar.

# MOOD
*(Núosaka)*

Mood is an expression of the speaker's attitude towards the content of the verb. Thus, the verb is in the indicative if its content is presented as something real, in the subjunctive if it is thought of as something unreal (potential or hypothetical) and in the imperative if it is in the form of an order or a wish.

As stated above (p. 92 f.) Lithuanian has the following moods:

1) the **indicative** *(tiesióginė núosaka)*
2) the **imperative** *(liepiamóji núosaka)* with the subgroup **permissive/ optative** *(leidžiamóji/geidžiamóji núosaka)*
3) the **subjunctive** *(tariamóji núosaka)*
4) the **relative mood** *(netiesióginė núosaka)*

In addition, it would probably be possible to establish a "debitive" (cf. Latvian) by attributing the status of a separate mood to the participle of necessity (see pp. 163 and 165). However, this is contrary to Lithuanian grammatical tradition and will not be adopted here. Also the ratio for considering the relative a mood can be questioned (not least in view of the fact that it has the same amount of tenses as the indicative, cf. p. 134).

## 1. The Indicative

The indicative has already been described from the point of view of its morphological characteristics in connection with the different tenses above (present, simple past, future, perfect and past perfect /pluperfect/). Functionally it is in contrast with the other moods in that it expresses something real which either took/has taken place, is taking place or undoubtedly will take place: *Alma studijavo/yra studijavusi, studijuoja, studijuos Vilniaus universitete* 'Alma studied/has studied (has been studying), is studying, will be studying at the University of Vilnius'.

# 2. The Imperative

## A. The Imperative proper

The imperative is formed on the basis of the infinitive stem. To this stem is added *-k* for the 2nd p. sg., *-kite* for the 2nd pl. (as well as for one single person in polite address):

*dìrb-ti > dìrb-k(ite)!* 'work!'; *vèsti > vès-k(ite)!* 'lead, guide'; *mylĕ-ti > mylĕ-k(ite)* 'love!'; *skaitý-ti > skaitý-k(ite)* 'read!'

If the infinitive stem ends in a *-k* or *-g*, the *-k* or *-g* is dropped before the *-k*-marker of the imperative:

*bĕg-ti > bĕk(ite)* 'run!'; *pirk-ti > pirk(ite)* 'buy!'

The *reflexive* is formed by adding *-is* after *-k* and *-s* after *-kite*:

*džiaũgtis > džiaũkis/džiaũkitės* 'be glad!' Notice the long *ė* before the reflexive element.

There is also a form for the 1st pl. in *-kime*, refl. *-kimės: eīkime* 'let's go!' With the same function also the present tense 1st pl. indicative can be used: *eīnam(e)!* 'let's go', *važiúojam(e)!* 'let's go'.

The *stress* is always the same as in the infinitive.

In Paulauskienė (1979, 143-45) 17 nuances in meaning of the Lithuanian imperative are distinguished, but all of them (command, threat, advice, recommendation etc.) are ultimately deducible from the function of the imperative proper and will therefore not be listed here.

## B. The Permissive/Optative

There is a relation of complementary distribution between the imperative proper which is restricted to the 2nd p. sg. and pl. plus the 1st pl., and the permissive which has a 3rd person reference.

The permissive (optative) is expressed through the particle *tè, tegù(l)* + the 3 p. pres. indicative, e. g. *tegù(l) ateīna/teateīna!* 'may he/she/they just come!', *tegyvúoja!* 'may he/she/they live!'

As shown in the sample given the subject is dropped if it represents a personal pronoun and the particle *te-* is written together with the verb. If the subject is a noun, the particle is written separately and placed before both the noun and the verb. The variant *tegu(l)* is always written separately: *tegu(l) metai gydo* 'may the years (time) heal'. With the same meaning as *tegyvúoja* one can also say *lai gyvúoja.*

In older writings the form of the main verb was not in the indicative mood, but in a special form called *optative* (i. e. mood for the expression of a *wish*), e. g. *teateinič!* 'may he/she/they come!', *teválgai!* 'may he/she/they eat!'

# 3. The Subjunctive

## A. Formation

Lithuanian distinguishes between a *present* and *past* subjunctive, the latter being a compound formation.

### a) The Present Subjunctive

As shown in the table (p. 93) the *present* subjunctive is formed on the basis of the *infinitive stem* to which the following endings are added: (SG) 1 p. *-čiau*, 2 p. *-tum(ei)*, (PL) 1 p. *-tume (tumėm/e/)*, 2 p. *-tute (-tumėt/e/)*, (SG/PL) 3. p. *-tų*:

| | *pir̃kti* 'buy' | *turė̃ti* 'have' | *skaitýti* 'read' |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 sg. | pir̃kčiau | turė̃čiau | skaitýčiau |
| 2 sg. | pir̃ktum | turė̃tum | skaitýtum |
| 3 sg./pl. | pir̃ktų | turė̃tų | skaitýtų |
| 1 pl. | pir̃ktume | turė̃tume | skaitýtume |
| 2 pl. | pir̃ktute | turė̃tute | skaitýtute |

*Reflexive* paradigm:

*juõktis*
'to laugh'

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. | juõkčiaus(i) |
| 2 sg. | juõktumeis(i) |
| 3sg/pl | juõktųs(i) |
| 1 pl. | juõktumės(i) |
| 2 pl. | juõktutės(i) |

**Accentuation**

The stress is on the same syllable as in the infinitive (which means that de Saussure's Law does not operate).

From a *historical* point of view the ending *-čiau* of the 1st p. sg. remains obscure (see discussion in Stang 1966, p. 432 f.). The *tu*-element of the rest of the

paradigm seems to reflect the accusative of the IE *supine* (cf. Latin *-tum*), which was used to express purpose. This is, however, only *one* of the meanings (functions) of the Lithuanian subjunctive. The process of its extension also to other functions such as the *irrealis* in conditional clauses, is not clear (see again Stang, *op. cit.*, p. 431). In Latvian the subjunctive has only one form (in *-tu*) for the entire paradigm whereas in Lithuanian as it were personal endings are added to the petrified form of the supine. There is, however, evidence (from Old Lithuanian, the dialects as well as different writings), of, for instance, a 2nd sg. in *-tum/b/ei* and a 1st pl. *-tumbime*) which makes it probable that these personal endings originally belonged to an auxiliary non-indicative verb form of *būti* 'be' (of the kind represented by *bim', bi* etc. in Old Church Slavonic).

### b) The Past Subjunctive

The *past subjunctive* is formed by combining the *past active participle* (in the appropriate form masc./fem.; sg./pl.) with the present subjunctive of *būti* in the function of an auxiliary:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| bū́čiau pĩrkęs/pĩrkusi | bū́čiau turė́jęs/turė́jusi | bū́čiau skaĩtęs/skaĩčiusi |
| bū́um " " | bū́tum " " | bū́tum " " |
| bū́tų " " | bū́tų " " | bū́tų " " |
| bū́tume pĩrkę/pĩrkusios | bū́tume turė́ję/turė́jusios | bū́tume skaĩtę/skaĩčiusios |
| bū́tute " " | bū́tute " " | bū́tute " " |
| bū́tų " " | bū́tų " " | bū́tų " " |

*Reflexive* paradigm:

*juõktis*
'to joke'

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 sg. | bū́čiau juõkęsis/juõkusis |
| 2 sg | bū́tum " " |
| 3 | bū́tų juõkęsis/juõkusis |
| sg/pl. | juõkęsi/juõkusiosis |
| 1 pl. | bū́tume juõkęsi/juõkusiosis |
| 2 pl. | bū́tute " " |

### Subjunctive Passive

There is also a *subjunctive passive* which is formed with the help of the auxiliary *bū́čiau, bū́tum* etc. + the passive participles in *-mas* or *-tas* respectively, see section on voice and indefinite verb forms (passive participles).

**The Difference in Meaning between the Present and Past Subjunctive**

The *difference in meaning* between the present and past subjunctive may be illustrated through the following example:

*Jeigu aš turėčiau pinigų (dabar/ateityje), važiuočiau į Lietuvą (dabar/ateityje)* 'if I had money (now), I would go to Lithuania (now/in the future)' : *jeigu aš būčiau turėjęs pinigų (tada/tuo metu), būčiau važiavęs į Lietuvą (tada/tuo metu)* 'if I had had money (then/at that time), I would have gone to Lithuania then/at that time'. Note also the formal difference in English between 'if I had money [...]' and 'if I had had money [...]' dependent on the time reference.

## B. Major Functions of the Subjunctive

The subjunctive is found a) in *main clauses*, b) in *main + subordinate clauses clauses* and c) in *subordinate clauses.*

*a) Main Clauses*

The subjunctive is used in exclamatory clauses expressing a *wish*: *O, kad ji ateitų!* 'If only she would come!' Cf. also the use of the permissive/optative in 2 B on p. 129 above.

*b) Main + Subordinate Clauses*

The subjunctive is used as *irrealis* in *hypothetical conditional clauses.* In this case the use of the *subjunctive is mandatory also in the main clause*, e. g. *jeigu aš turėčiau pinigų, važiuočiau į Lietuvą* 'if I had money, I would go to Lithuania'.

In the case of a non-hypothetical condition the indicative, not the subjunctive, is used: *jeigu aš gausiu pinigų, aš važiuosiu į Lietuvą* 'if I (will) get money (which is possible), I will go to Lithuania'.

*c) Subordinate Clauses*

1) The subjunctive is obligatory also in *hypothetical comparisons* like: ... *o kiti koja paspiria, lyg neturėtų rankų* (A. Pocius) 'and/but others kick (the door) with the foot as if they were without arms'. The main clause is in the indicative mood.

Other synonymous conjunctions with *lyg* are: *tartum, tarsi, kaip kad* and *lyg kad.*

2) The subjunctive is further used in subordinate clauses with the conjunction *kad* after verbs *expressing the subject's will or desire*: *mokytojas liepė/norėjo/prašė/sakė, kad mokinys ateitų* [...]' 'the teacher ordered/wanted/demanded/said that the pupil come/should come'.

With verbs like *liẽpti* and *prašýti* the infinitive can also be used (as in English): *mokytojas liepė man/prašė mane ateiti* 'the teacher ordered/asked me to come'.

The subjunctive (infinitive) in this function corresponds to an imperative in direct speech: *mokytojas sakė: 'Ateik!'* The teacher said: 'Come!' Note the different transformational basis in *mokytojas sakė, kad mokinys ateitų* 'the teacher said that the pupil should come' and *mokytojas sakė, kad oras šiandien (yra) gražus* 'the teacher said that the weather was fine to-day'. The latter, i. e. [...] *kad oras šiandien yra gražus,* corresponds to an indicative construction, and not the imperative, in direct speech, i. e. *oras šiandien yra gražus* 'the weather is beautiful to-day', and must be rendered by the indicative also in indirect discourse.

3) Close to the function of the subjunctive described in 2) is the following: *(yra) svarbu/reikia, kad mokinys ateitų* 'it is important/necessary that the pupil come' (note the usage of subjunctive also in the English translation). The heading in 3) will read: *subjunctive after expressions of necessity.*

4) A fourth case of the use of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses is that found in *consecutive clauses with a notion of purpose*: [...] *taip krauti pėdus, kad varpos gultų ant varpų* 'to pile up the sheaves in such a way that the ears lie one upon the other'.

5) After verbs expressing *fear* the subjunctive is used in the subordinate clause: *jis bijojo, kad ji nesušaltų* 'he was afraid that she would get cold'. The subordinate clause contains a *pleonastic ne* which can be explained in terms of historical syntax on the basis of an original coordinate construction that has developed into a subordinate: *Jis bijojo: "Kad ji nesušaltų!"* 'He was afraid: If only she will not be cold!' Compare similar constructions in Slavic and Romance languages: (Russian) *ja bojalsja, kak by ona ne zamerzla,* (French) *je crains qu'il ne vienne.*

6) An even more subtle area is the use of the subjunctive after *negated verba dicendi et sentiendi* in statements of *a general character*: *jis niekada anksčiau nėra girdėjęs, kad kažkas taip darytų* 'he had never heard before that anyone would do a thing like that'. Cf. also the Slavic (Russian) parallel: *on nikogda ne slyšal, čtoby ona tak khorošo pela.* The correct use of mood in such cases causes trouble to the student. In the following example, however, the indicative must be used since the utterance has no general character: *jis negirdėjo, kad ji atėjo* 'he did not hear that she had come'.

7) The same *hypothetical* character as in 6) is felt also in certain relative clauses with the subjunctive, e. g. *Bet ar esate girdėję apie*

*konkursus, kur būtų renkami tinkamiausi žodžiai?* 'but have you (ever) heard about competitions where the most suitable words are collected?'

## 4. The Relative Mood

The relative mood has the same amount of tenses as the indicative, i. e three *simple* and three *compound*. Both *active* and *passive* forms are possible.

### Formation

*1. Active Forms*

The *simple* tenses of the relative mood consist of the present, past or future forms of the participles in the function of a finite main verb. Thus, from the verb *dìrbti* 'to work' the following forms can be constructed: present *dirbą̃s (M)/dìrbanti (F);* past *dìrbęs (M)/dìrbusi (F)* and future *dirbsiãs (M)/dìrbsianti* (F). Also the frequentative participle in *-davęs/-davusi* is encountered. (For the formation of these participles, see p. 158 ff. below.)

The *compound* tenses are arrived at by combining the past participle of the main verb with the present, past and future participle from the auxiliary *bū́ti* 'to be', e. g. *esą̃s dìrbęs (M)/ẽsanti dìrbusi (F)* for the present perfect, *bùvęs dìrbęs (M)/bùvusi dìrbusi (F)* for the past perfect and *bū́siąs dirbą̃s (M)/bū́sianti dìrbanti (F)* for the future perfect.

*2. Passive Forms*

Passive forms are constructed by combining the passive participles of the main verb in *-mas (M)/ma (F)* and *-tas (M)/ta (F)* with the following participle forms of the auxiliary *bū́ti*: (present) *esą̃s (M)/ẽsanti (F),* (past) *bùvęs (M)/bùvusi (F)* and (future) *bū́siąs (M)/bū́sianti (F).*

The transitive verb *rašýti* 'to write' may serve as an illustration: *esą̃s rãšomas, bùvęs rãšomas, bū́siąs rãšomas* and *esą̃s rašýtas, bùvęs rašýtas* and *bū́siąs rašýtas.* The *m*-form combinations are parallel to the simple forms of the active, the *t*-form combinations to the compound.

For the formation of the *m*- and *t*-participles, see p. 161 ff.

The high number of tenses in the relative mood is "suspicious" since it seems to be kind of a linguistic universal that the marked moods, i. e. non indicative moods, possess fewer tenses than the indicative. Perhaps the status of an independent mood

attributed to the relative in Lithuanian grammatical tradition could be disputed against this background?

## Meaning and Use

The relative mood is used to account for an event not directly experienced or eyewitnessed by the narrator or an event the occurrence of which can be questioned (doubted) or which is not satisfactorily known.

In harmony herewith the relative mood can have a) a *narrative*, b) a *dubitative*, or c) a *"folkloristic"* function:

a) is found in *indirect discourse* after *verba dicendi*, like, for example, *sakýti* 'say', *pãsakoti* 'tell', *pranèšti* 'announce' : *Jis sako/sakė (, kad) daug žinąs* 'he says/said that he knows/knew a lot', *ji pranešė (, kad) rytoj važiuosianti į miestą* 'she announced that tomorrow she will (would) go to the city', *jie išvijo kvailį iš namų, kadangi jis jiems buvo pripasakojęs, kad mėsa labai pabrangusi* 'they chased the fool out of the house since he had told them that the meat should have become more expensive'. As illustrated by the examples the application of *kad* 'that' is optional. Other conjunctions (conjunctional words) have to be expressed explicitly, e. g: *jis pasakojo, kur pirkęs vyno* 'he told where he had bought wine'.

Good examples can be found in newspapers, cf. the following passage (from "Lietuvos rytas") : *Vienas firmos darbuotojas sakė dar neseniai pats tikėjęs K-čium, bet dabar jo ieškoti esą neverta. K. prieš porą metų buvo tapęs vienu turtingiausių x miesto gyventoju* 'one employee of the firm said he had even quite recently trusted K., but now it was no use searching for him. A couple of years ago K. had become one of the most wealthy inhabitants of the city *x*'. Further on in the same article one reads: *Kai pernai [...] nariai ėmė ieškoti K-čiaus turto, šis sakė tuoj parduosiąs Klaipėdos "Vakarų bankui" pastatą, kurio rūsyje įsikūrusi x firma, ir grąžinsiąs skolas* 'when the members last year started searching for K's fortune, he said that he would immediately sell the building in the basement of which the firm *x* had been established and pay back his debts' (observe the use of the future participles in this example). The relative mood can also be found after the preposition *anot* 'according to': *Anot jo, tai būdavę legalu* 'according to him, that used to be legal' (example taken from the same article).

b) The relative mood is also encountered in cases where there is *no verbum dicendi* at all. The purpose is then to express events which can be *doubted* ("dubitative" function): *traukinys išeinąs lygiai septintą valandą* 'the train seems to be leaving at seven sharp'; *Tas davęs jam pinigų* 'he shall have given him money'.

c) The relative mood is further used about *unusual, unbelievable* events, for instance, in fairy-tales, where a whole passage can be in the relative mood ("folkloristic" function): *Ateinąs gaidys ir prašąs įsileisti* ... 'then the cock comes (came) and asks to be let in'. Almost synonymously, however, one will also find the indicative: *ateina gaidys ir prašo įsileisti.*

The relative mood is claimed to be in decline in to-day's Lithuanian. That may well be the case in colloquial speech, but in the language of the press it is flourishing.

In Slavic the relative mood of Baltic has a kind of parallel in the Bulgarian *narrative* (formally also expressed through an active participle) as well as the so-called *Referatskonjunktiv* in German (type: *Hans sagt, er sei krank*). The relative mood is also encountered in Balto-Finnic languages (Estonian).

## Modality. Lithuanian Equivalents of English Modal Auxiliaries

The term 'modality' is associated with mood, but is an even broader concept. In English modality is expressed by moods, modal verb auxiliaries ('can', 'may' etc.) and certain modifiers (as, for example, 'perhaps'). It appears practical to include a list of English modal verb auxiliaries and their equivalents in Lithuanian.

1. CAN/COULD:
a) 'be able to': *galėti*
*galiu tai padaryti* 'I can do that',
b) 'may' (possibility/permission), see next point

2. MAY/MIGHT:
a) 'possibility': *galėti*
*traukinys gali vėluoti* 'the train may be late',
b) 'permission': *galėti/gālima*
*ar aš galiu užeiti aplankyti jus?* 'may I drop in to see you?', *ar galima įeiti?* 'may I come in/enter?'
c) 'wish': *te*-construction: *tebūna jų susitikimas laimingas!* 'may their meeting be happy!'

3. MUST (HAVE /NEED TO):
Lithuanian has several equivalents, viz.:
a) the *impersonal* verb (p. 220) *reikėti:*

*reikia darbą dirbti* 'one must/it is necessary to do the work',
b) the *impersonal* verb *tèkti:*
*mums teko ilgai laukti* 'we must/had to wait for a long time', *dėl šito dar teks pagalvoti* 'it will be necessary to think more about this',
c) the *personal* verb (p. 220) *turėti:*
*visi turi dirbti* 'everybody must/has to work', *aš turiu eiti* 'I must/have to go',
d) the personal verb *privalėti* 'must/ be obliged to':
*visi privalo dirbti* 'everybody must/is obliged to work'
e) the participle of necessity in *-tinas:*
*šitas paragrafas laikytinas svarbiausiu* 'this paragraph must be considered most important'

4. OUGHT TO
The sense of obligation is weaker here than in 'must'.
a) *reikėti:*
*man reikėtų* (subjunctive) *ten eiti* 'I ought to go there'
b) *turėti:*
*tu turėjai jai rašyti* 'you ought to write to her' (but did not ="escapable obligation")
c) construction with *turbūt* 'probably':
*ryt turbūt bus graži diena* 'it ought to be a fine day to-morrow'

5. SHALL/SHOULD
a) future tense constructions where the modal shades of meaning dominate the (future) tense meaning, cf. p. 125 above (examples).
b) *dative* + *infinitive*-construction in questions:
*ar man skaityti?* 'shall I read?'
c) construction with *turėti*:
*jūs turėtumėte* (subjunctive) *būti punktualus* 'you should be punctual' (implication: 'you are not sufficiently punctual')
d) 'threat': *jūs to gailėsitės* (future tense) 'you shall regret it'

6. WILL/WOULD
a) future tense constructions (for example, see p. 127),
b) *norėti:*
*noriu, kad tu sugrįžtum* 'I will/wish that you return/come back'

N.B. 'would' in the habitual sense is rendered by *-dav*-form (p. 121): *jis stėbėdavo vaikus ištisas valandas* 'he would watch the children for hours'; expressions of the type 'boys will be boys' are rendered in the following way: *vaikai lieka vaikais.*

In many (especially theoretical) presentations of modality a distinction is drawn between *epistemic* and *deontic* modality. Since these notions are not always clear we will abstain from using them in this grammar of a more practical profile.

## Negated Modality

a) 'inability/impossibility':
*negalėti: jūs negalite tai padaryti* 'you cannot/are not able to do that'
b) '(strong) dissuasion':
*nereikėti*: *jums nereikia (nereikėtų) tai padaryti* 'you should not do that'
c) 'prohibition':
*negalima*-construction: *jums negalima ten eiti* 'you must not/are not allowed to go there'

# VOICE
*(Rūšis)*

Lithuanian distinguishes between two voices - *active* and *passive*. This section will deal with both the morphology and use of the active and the passive.

## Definitions

From a semantic point of view an *active* construction can be defined as *an utterance in which the grammatical subject refers to the agent*, i. e. the performer of the action, as for example in 'he bullied me' in contrast to a *passive where the grammatical subject* ('he') *refers to the patient* (literally 'the suffering', i. e. the one against whom the action is directed: 'I was bullied /by him/'). Another alternative is to define only passive in positive terms and the active voice negatively by stating that all constructions which are not passive, are active.

In the *active* sentence quoted above, the agent is expressed by the subject *he*, the patient by the object *me*, in the *passive* it is the other way round: the patient is expressed by the subject *I* whereas the (optional) agent is reflected in the complement *by him*.

The examples just quoted further demonstrate that in English the verb is morphologically different in the active voice compared to the passive. The same is the case also in Lithuanian.

## Morphology of the Active Voice

The morphological make-up of *active* verb forms has been illustrated above (p. 97 ff.).

## Use of the Active Voice

The active voice is far more frequently encountered than the passive and is used when the conditions for using a passive construction are not present, cf. below.

## Morphology of the Passive Voice

*Expression of the Passive Voice in Lithuanian*

For the expression of the passive voice Lithuanian has at its disposal *one* auxiliary *(bū̃ti)* which can be combined with *two* (passive) participles: the *m*- and the *t*-participle (for their formation, see p. 162 ff.). This formational strategy will be referred to as *formal passive*.

As a rule of thumb the *m*-participle appears in imperfective form, the *t*-participle in perfective. (For deviations from this principle, see above section on aspect).

The construction with the *m*-participle denotes a *process* whereas the other one tends to denote a *state* (= "Handlungspassiv" vs. "Zustandspassiv"). This distinction is transparent in *(yra) stãtom-* vs. *(yra) pastatýt-* (cf. the following chart).

The opposition type *(yra) stãtom-* 'is being built'*: (yra) pastatýt-* 'is built' is also one of *tense* (cf. p. 122 ff.). Thus, the former can be determined as *present tense* proper whereas the latter has the meaning of a *perfect*.

*Sample of a passive paradigm in the indicative mood:*

| | **Imperfective** | **Perfective** |
|---|---|---|
| **Infinitive** | *bū̃ti stãtomam* (dative!) 'to be being built' | *bū̃ti pastatýtam* (dative) 'to be built' |
| **Present** | *(yrà) stãtomas* 'is being built' | *(yrà) pastatýtas* 'is built' |
| **Past** | *bùvo stãtomas* 'was being built' | *bùvo pastatýtas* 'was built' |
| **Frequentative Past** | *bū̃davo stãtomas** 'used to be being built' | *bū̃davo pastatýtas** 'used to be built' |
| **Future** | *bùs stãtomas* 'will be being built' | *bùs pastatýtas* 'will be built' |
| **Present Perfect** | *yrà buvęs stãtomas* 'has been being built' | *yrà buvęs pastatýtas* 'has been built' |
| **Past Perfect** | *bùvo bùvęs stãtomas** 'had been being built' | *bùvo bùvęs pastatýtas** 'had been built' |
| **Future Perfect** | *bùs bùvęs stãtomas* 'will have been being built' | *bùs bùvęs pastatýtas* 'will have been built' |

* these forms are very rarely encountered

For convenience finite forms of the *bū́ti*-auxiliary are given in the 3rd p. whereas participle forms (including *bùvęs*) are given in the masc. sg.

*Other Moods than the Indicative:*

Formal passives are encountered also in other moods than the indicative, cf. the *subjunctive: bū́tų stãtomas/pastatýtas* 'would be built' and *bū́tų bùvęs stãtomas/pastatýtas* 'would have been built', the *imperative/permissive: bū́k stãtomas/pastatýtas* 'be built!'/*tegùl bū̃na stãtomas/pastatýtas x* 'may *x* be built!', and the *relative mood*: *esą̃s/bùvęs/bū́siąs/esą̃s bùvęs/esą̃s bū́siąs stãtomas/pastatýtas* 'is said to be (being) built/to have been built' etc.'.

Beside *formal* passives, *functional equivalents* of passive constructions can be achieved in Lithuanian by means of *formally active sentences with a special word order* (see below).

*Expression of the Passive Voice in English*

It is necessary to focus on the *contrastive* perspective, whence a couple of words should be said about the formation of the passive also in English.

In English the passive voice is expressed through the combination of *one* auxiliary *(be)* and *one* participle (i. e. the past participle which is in *-t* with weak verbs, *-n* with strong), cf. the above paradigm.

In German and Scandinavian the situation is the same with respect to the participle, but *two* auxiliaries are used *(werden/bli)* and *(sein/være)* for the purpose of expressing "Handlungspassiv" and "Zustandspassiv" respectively.

## Motivations for choosing Passive Constructions. General Considerations

Generally speaking, there are two important motivations for choosing a passive construction rather than an active:

1) passive constructions have *another functional sentence perspective* (FSP), i. e. *theme-rheme* structure, than the corresponding active

2) passive constructions admit *deletion of the agent*

### 1. The Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP)

The functional sentence perspective is different in the following two sentences:

(1) *The workmen are building a house*
(2) *The house is being built by workmen*

since in (1) 'the workmen' belongs to the *theme* (i. e. is part of the *given information*) whereas 'a house' is *rhematic* (i. e. brings *new information*). In sentence (2) the situation is the reverse: 'the house' is *thematic*, 'workmen' *rhematic*.

In context-bound, non-emphatic sentences the *theme appears at the beginning of the utterance, the rheme at the end.* This *theme-before-rheme* ordering should be conceived as a general rule. Furthermore, in *article* languages (English, Scandinavian and others) a *thematic* noun will appear with *the definite article* whereas a *rhematic* noun is usually accompanied by *the indefinite article.* In *non-article languages* (e. g. Lithuanian) the criterion for recognition of the *theme* is in fact its *initial position.*

### 2. Agent Deletion

*Agent deletion* occurs under the following circumstances:

a) if the agent is *self-evident, of little relevance* or *difficult to express*, cf., for example: 'the glue should be applied carefully' (*by whom:* the owner/purchaser/user of the tube?), 'a person who has committed a crime, will be sentenced to *x* days in prison' (by the judge/court/community/state?),

b) if the agent is *avoided* on purpose (so-called "agent-hiding"): 'Major heavily attacked yesterday' (by one MP/a few MPs/the entire Opposition/all MPs?)

In such cases languages with the active : passive opposition (Lithuanian, English etc.) will use a passive (or passive equivalent) construction, see further below.

## The Equivalents of English Passives in Lithuanian

*Constructions with an Agent:*

The above mentioned active sentence *the workmen are building a house* (with the word order subject-verb-object, shortened SVO) should be translated into Lithuanian by an equally active SVO construction:

*Darbininkai stato namą.* The passive SVO-sentence 'the house is being built by workmen' can be rendered by the passive SVO *namas yra darbininkų statomas* (with the agent *darbininkų* in the genitive case, cf. p. 185 f.). However, *formally passive sentences with an explicitly expressed agent are as a rule avoided in Lithuanian,* whence a formally active sentence with the word order *object - verb - subject* (OVS) is preferred: *namą stato darbininkai* (an exception to this rule is noun phrases). The sentence *namą stato darbininkai* has the same *theme-rheme* structure as the English sentence 'the house is being built by workmen' and the Lithuanian sentence *namas yra darbininkų statomas.* OVS-structures are far more common in case languages than in caseless ones, since in the former sentence members in initial position are identified as either object or subject by virtue of their grammatical *form* in opposition to the latter where the initial *position* is earmarked for the function of the subject both in active and passive sentences.

*Constructions without an Agent*

As mentioned above *agentless* passive sentences in English can be translated by formally passive constructions in Lithuanian. Thus, 'he is bullied every day' corresponds to Lithuanian *jis yra pravardžiuojamas kasdien* (where the participle agrees in gender, number and case /= nominative/ with the subject *jis*). However, it is also possible to use a formally active *one-part sentence* (cf. p. 219) with the structure OV: *jį pravardžiuoja kasdien* with a formally active OV-structure. Both solutions have the *patient (jis/jį)* in the thematic initial position.

*Use of the Passive Infinitive*

As illustrated in the paradigm (p. 140) the participle is (usually) in the dative case. This is because the passive infinitive is mostly used in a special syntactic environment, i. e. constructions with the verb *reikėti*, e. g. *namui reikia būti pastatytam* 'the house must be built' where there is agreement (p. 230 ff.) between the logical subject *namui* and the participle component of the predicate.

*Constructions of the Type 'it is confirmed that'*

The standard way of rendering such cases in Lithuanian is to use the "neuter" form of a passive participle (cf. p. 163) without any formal subject corresponding to English 'it', e. g. *šiuo dokumentu patvirtinama, kad* [...] 'with this document it is confirmed that [...]', but also a 3rd person active construction without a subject is encountered: *patvirtina, kad* 'one confirms that = it is confirmed that'.

*Constructions of the Type pėdsakų (ne)rasta*

Alongside common two-part constructions (p. 218 f.) like, for example, *pėdsakai (ne)rasti* also one-part constructions of the type *pėdsakų (ne)rasta* can be found. The difference between these constructions is that the former tends to express that 'the traces (thematic) are not found' whereas the latter implies: 'traces (rhematic) are (not) found'.

*Formal Passives with Intransitive Verbs*

In a caseless language like English passive participles are formed from transitive verbs, i. e. verbs with an object. In case languages the formation of passive participles is as a rule equally limited to *transitive* verbs, but the definition of transitivity (cf. also p. 148 f.) is different since here transitive verbs are understood as verbs with an object in the *accusative* case. A peculiarity of Lithuanian, however, is that formally "passive" constructions are possible also with intransitive verbs.

"Passive" constructions of this type are frequently encountered in Lithuanian. They must be in the form of *one-part impersonal sentences* (cf. p. 220) *with the participle in the special "neuter" form* (cf. p. 163). Further, such constructions can be both with and without an agent.

*Examples:*

*Čia dirbta žmonių* 'here people have been working' (lit. 'here worked by people'), *čia mūsų gyventa* 'here our people lived', *čia žmonių būta* 'there have been people here' (lit. 'there has been by/of people here'/'being of people'). Such constructions with the *t*-participle have a past reference. There is a difference in meaning between these participle constructions and the corresonding active non-impersonal constructions *čia dirbo žmonės, čia mes gyvenome* and *čia buvo žmonės* in that the latter are semantically neutral whereas in the former a nuance of *modality* (doubt, nostalgia etc.) is felt. The participle constructions also seem to presuppose some further comment and context.

Constructions with the *m*-participle will have reference to the present, e. g. **čia gyvenama/miegama/dirbama žmonių* 'here people are living/sleeping/working'. The corresponding expressions without an agent, i. e. *čia gyvenama/miegama/ dirbama* are equally possible.

The participle *ẽsama* is used for the purpose of stylistic variation as a variant of *yrà* or *ẽsti*, e. g. *dėl sąjungos pobūdžio esama (yra/esti) įvairių nuomonių* 'with respect to the character of the union there are (exist) several opinions'.

A verb like, for example, *grasinti* 'threaten' is intransitive since it requires a complement in the dative case. Thus, one would say, for

example, *jam buvo grasinta* 'he was threatened' (or *jam grasino* with "conversion" to a formally active construction), but also a construction with a grammatical subject in the nominative and a congruent participle as part of the predicate is possible, i. e. the same technique as with transitive verbs: *jis buvo grasintas*. This is a further illustration of the somewhat peculiar relationship between transitivity and intransitivity in Lithuanian.

Observe, finally, the opposition between *palyta* 'it has rained' and *palijo* 'it rained' where the participle construction denotes a *result* (state) as opposed to *palijo* which focusses on the *process*.

*Other Passive Participle Constructions with Intransitive Verbs*

Constructions with the "neutral" passive participle can also be found with *reflexive verbs*, e. g. *darbą stengtasi rašyti taip, kad [...]* 'one has endeavoured/it has been endeavoured to write the work in such a way that [...]. Observe the aecusative object *darbą* which is governed not by *stengtasi*, but *(stengtasi +) rašyti*.

Finally, mention should be made of constructions with the so-called passive *participle of necessity* in *-tina* (cf. p. 163): *kalbant apie įvardžius, būtina pažymėti labai reikšmingą A. Rosino monografiją [...]* 'when speaking about pronouns, one should/it is obligatory to mention an important monograph by A. Rosinas [...]'.

## REFLEXIVE AND NON-REFLEXIVE VERBS

*(Sangrąžìniai ir nesangrąžìniai veiksmãžodžiai)*

In this section the functions and meanings of the reflexive verbs in contrast with non-reflexive verbs will be described. For the formal expression of reflexives and non-reflexives, see p. 96 f. above.

The reflexive verbs of Lithuanian show a variety of functions.

1) In the first place, there is a small group of (unprefixed) *reflexiva tantum*, i. e. reflexives without any non-reflexive counterpart, like, for example, *domėtis* 'to be interested in', *juõktis* 'to laugh, joke', *šypsótis* 'to smile', *eĩgtis* 'to behave', *dairýtis* 'to look around/behind', *didžiúotis* 'to be proud of', *susirašinėti* 'to correspond (write to each other)'. Cf. p. 76.

Close to the *reflexiva tantum* are those where the reflexive verb has separated very far in meaning from that of the "corresponding" non-reflexive, like, for instance, *stebėtis* 'to wonder, be surprised' vs.

*stebė̃ti* 'to observe, watch', *léistis* 'to start, descend' vs. *léisti* 'to allow; let go', *tikė̃tis* 'to hope' : *tikė̃ti* 'to believe'.

2) All remaining reflexives (prefixed and non-prefixed) have non-reflexive counterparts:

a) the *reflexives proper*, i. e. cases like *kéltis* 'to get up (after sleep)' : *kélti ką* 'to lift, raise sby/sth', *praũstis* 'to wash (oneself)' vs. *praũsti* 'to wash sby/sth', *reñgtis* 'to dress, prepare for (oneself)' vs. *reñgti ką* 'to dress sby; prepare sth', *nusireñgti/nusiviĩlkti* 'to undress (oneself)' : *nureñgti/nuviĩlkti ką* 'to undress sby', *skùstis* 'to shave (oneself)' vs. *skùsti ką* 'to shave sby', *aũtis* 'to put on or take off one's shoes/boots' : *aũti ką* 'to put on or take off sby's shoes/boots', *mókytis* 'to learn, study' vs. *mókyti* 'to teach', *ruõštis* 'to prepare (oneself)' : *ruõšti ką* 'to prepare sth'.

A contrastive example in a full sentence: *mama rengiasi* 'mother is dressing (herself)' : *mama rengia vaiką* 'mother is dressing the child'. As becomes apparent from the examples, the reflexive is intransitive (without an object) whereas the non-reflexive is transitive (with an accusative object).

The situation is more or less analogous also in the following series: *durys atsidaro* '(the) door(s) open(s)' : *ji atidaro duris* 'she opens the door(s)', *pamoka prasidėjo/tęsėsi/baigėsi* 'the lesson began/continued/finished' : *profesorius pradėjo/tęsė/baigė pamoką* 'the professor began/continued/finished the lesson'. This function of the reflexive is also close to that of the passive.

Reflexive passives proper, however, are not used in Lithuanian (they are felt as Russianisms and should be avoided).

Some reflexive verbs can be combined with an *accusative* object, cf., for example, *nusipir̃kti* 'to buy (for /to oneself)': *jis nusipirko naują dviratį* 'he bought a new bicycle'. Here the element *-si-* may be conceived as a substitute for the benefactive function of the dative (cf. p. 193) with respect to the *person*; cf. *mutatis mutandis* a corresponding non-reflexive construction: *jis nupirko naują dviratį sūnui* 'he bought a new bicycle for his son'.

The most frequent object case met with in connection with reflexive verbs, however, seems to be the instrumental (e. g. *domė̃tis kuo nors* 'to be interested in sth.'); this again is an intransitive function which is characteristic of the bulk of reflexive verbs.

b) This group is constituted by *reciprocal* verbs.

Some examples: *bučiúotis* 'to kiss (each other)' : *bučiúoti ką* 'to kiss sby', *susitìkti* 'to meet (each other)' vs. *sutìkti ką* 'to meet sby', *apsikabìnti* 'embrace (each other)' vs. *apkabìnti ką* 'embrace sby'. A contrasting example in full sentence: *mama ir tėvas bučiuojasi* 'mummy

and dad are kissing' : *mama bučiuoja vaiką* 'mummy is kissing the/her child'.

In certain cases it may be difficult to decide whether a reflexive verb or a a non-reflexive accompanied by a case form of the reflexive pronoun should be used. Thus, for translating, for example, 'to comb (oneself)' a reflexive verb must be used: *žmogus šukuojasi* 'the man is combing himself (i. e. his hair)'; *žmogus šukuoja save* would imply a male in the process of combing his Esau like body! An alternative construction for *žmogus šukuojasi* is *žmogus šukuoja sau plaukus* 'the man is combing his hair'. For rendering 'to look at oneself in the mirror' a non-reflexive verb + the accusative of the reflexive pronoun is required: *žiūrėti save veidrodyje*, and not **žiūrėtis veidrodyje*. One might further be doubtful as to whether it is correct to say *gìntis* and/or *gìnti save* for 'defend oneself'. The first alternative seems to be the only possible one.

From a historical point of view there is a connection between the autonomous reflexive pronoun and the so-called reflexive particle (reflexive suffix/infix); the latter originates from a clitic reflexive pronoun which formed a sort of doublet of the non-clitic (i. e. the normal) reflexive pronoun.

c) Here belong a very small number of verbs which may be labeled "aggressive". A general characteristic of *reflexive verbs* is that the action expressed by them *is limited to the subject's own sphere and interest*. This is clearly the case also with *badýtis* 'butt'. This verb is used without an object, cf., for example, *karvė badosi* 'the cow butts'. With an object the non-reflexive counterpart is used: *karvė bado vaiką* 'the cow is butting the child'.

With other verbs of the same sphere such as *gélti* 'bite/sting (about insects)' and *kąsti/kándžioti* 'bite', however, only the non-reflexive variant is used. Contrast, for example, *vapsva gelia* 'the whasp bites/stings' and *vapsva gelia vaiką* 'the wasp is biting/stinging the child'.

Also in Slavic there is a functional distinction between the reflexive and non-reflexive in similar cases, cf., for example, Russian *korova bodaetsja* (refl.) 'the cow butts' : *korova bodaet* (non-refl.) *rebenka* 'the cow is butting the child', *sobaka kusaetsja* (non-refl.) 'the dog bites' : *sobaka kusaet* (non-refl.) *rebenka* 'the dog is biting the child'. The same situation is further observed in Swedish (but not Norwegian or Danish): *kon stångas : kon stångar barnet, hunden bits : hunden biter barnet.*

d) The reflexive is also used in certain *impersonal* constructions (cf. p. 220): *kaip Jums sekasi?* 'how are you getting along?', *man rodos* 'it seems to me', *man šiandien nesidirba* 'I can't work to-day'.

Finally, it should be emphasized that some verbs can never occur in a reflexive form. To this group belong, for example, *abejóti* 'doubt', *atitìkti* 'correspond', *bijóti* 'be afraid', *įvỹkti* 'happen, occur', *skubė̃ti* 'hurry'.

## TRANSITIVITY AND INTRANSITIVITY

In a case language like Lithuanian transitive verbs are defined as verbs which require an object in the *accusative* case without the involvement of a preposition (cf. also the Lithuanian term for transitivity: *galininkiškumas,* lit. "accusativity"). The genitive object with negation and the partitive genitive object after otherwise transitive verbs (see chapter on case, p. 185) should also be included in the notion of transitivity.

In the preceding section reflexive and non-reflexive verbs were dealt with. The opposition of reflexive and non-reflexive verb pairs is also relevant for the question of transitivity vs. intransitivity, cf., for example, *atsidarýti* (intrans.) vs. *atidarýti* (trans.) 'to open' and *kéltis* 'to get up' vs. *kélti* 'to lift, raise'.

Another means of expressing the transitive : intransitive contrast is *vowel alternation* ("ablaut"), cf. p. 31, whereby the intransitive partner shows the so-called *zero degree* as opposed to the *full degree* of its transitive counterpart, cf., for example, *lū́žti* (intrans.) 'burst' : *láužti* (trans.) 'break', *liñkti* (intrans.) 'bend' : *leñkti* (trans.) 'bend', *kìlti* (intrans.) 'rise' : *kélti* (trans.) 'lift, raise', *kìsti* (intrans.) 'change' : *keĩsti* (trans.) 'change', *skìlti* (intrans.) 'split' : *skélti* (trans.) 'split', *krỹpti* (intrans.) 'bend; tend to' : *kreĩpti* 'direct, turn'.

The *present tense forms* with nasal infix or the *st*-suffix basically belong to *zero*-grade intransitives which are often contrasted with *e*-grade transitives with *j*-presents. This is typical of the pairs just quoted, cf. *liñksta : leñkia, kỹla : kẽlia, kiñta : keĩčia, skỹla (< *ski-n-la) : skẽlia, krỹpsta : kreĩpia.*

Many of the transitives just mentioned have transitive partners in *-(d)yti*, cf. *kraipýti, skáldyti.* They differ from *kreĩpti* and *skélti* in their additional *frequentative* meaning, e. g. *skáldyti* 'split (cut) often'. Observe further that these transitive frequentatives also have another *ablaut* form (*o*-grade) in the root than the corresponding non-frequentative transitives, e. g. *kraipýti* vs. *kreĩpti.*

Another suffix which exclusively derives transitives is the *factitive/causative -inti*, cf. *grąžìnti* 'return, give back' (: *grį̃žti* 'to return, come back' and *grę̃žti* 'to turn, swing'), *dìdinti* 'to increase' vs.

the intransitive in *-ėti: didĕti* 'to increase' (: *dìdis* 'big'). In *grąžìnti : grę̃žti : grį̃žti* the play of the *ablaut* is again observed.

# THE NON–FINITE FORMS OF THE VERB

As mentioned (p. 93 above) the non-finite forms of the verb encompass the *infinitive(s)*, the *gerunds* and *participles* as well as the *verbal noun.*

## I. The Infinitive

*(Bendratìs)*

**Formal Characteristics.**

The infinitive is formed from the infinitive stem with the addition of the infinitive marker *-ti* (in the spoken language often shortened to *-t*): *eĩti* 'to go', *kalbė́ti* 'to speak', *matýti* 'to look', *miegóti* 'to sleep'.

The infinitive of *unprefixed reflexive verbs* is in *-tis*, for example *kéltis* 'rise, stand up' whereas the *prefixed reflexives* according to the general rule (cf. p. 97) insert the reflexive particle *-si-* between the (last) prefix and the root, e. g. *pa-si-kélti* 'rise, stand up'.

The infinitive is not declined.

It can appear both in imperfective and perfective forms, cf. p. 119 ff.

**Accentuation**

The stress in most cases falls on the syllable immediately before *-ti*. The infinitive marker is never stressed.

**Syntax of the Infinitive**

The Lithuanian infinitive can be 1) grammatically *independent* or 2) *dependent,* cf. p. 221 below.

1) is observed in the *dative + infinitive* construction which is frequently heard in (modal) questions (both direct and indirect): *ką man daryti?* 'what shall I do?' (lit. 'what for me do?'), *ji paklausė, ką jai daryti* 'she asked what she should do' (cf. p. 194 and *passim*).

2) is found after various types of *finite* verbs:

a) *phasal* verbs, i. e. verbs with the meaning of *beginning, continuation and stopping*: *jis pradėjo/tęsė/baigė dainuoti* 'he began/continued/stopped singing'. Optionally, after certain verbs with the meaning of stopping also the past active participle can be used: *vėjas nustojo pūsti : vėjas nustojo pūtęs* 'the wind stopped blowing'.

b) certain auxiliary *modal* verbs like *galėti* 'to be able', *norėti* 'to wish', *turėti* 'to have to', *reikėti* 'to have to': *aš norėjau ateiti, bet negalėjau (ateiti)* 'I wished to come, but couldn't'; *man reikia dirbti* 'I have to work'.

c) a good number of other verbs. Among such verbs are, for example *žadėti* 'promise', *bijóti* 'be afraid of', *mėgti* 'like', *patìkti* 'like', *bandýti* 'try', *sténgtis* 'endeavour, try', *ruõštis, reñgtis* 'prepare for': *jie stengiasi kalbėti lietuviškai* 'they try to speak Lithuanian as best they can'.

There are, however, certain constraints with respect to what kind of verbs can govern an infinitive. Thus, a verb like, for instance, *užsiimti* 'to be busy with' cannot be followed by an infinitive. A grammatical motivation for this seems to be that the undeclinable infinitive is not able to show the case form (instrumental) required by *užsiimti*. With this verb the verbal noun in *-i/ymas*, see section III below, has to be used instead: *jis taip užsiėmė plaukimu, kad nežiūrėjo ryklio* 'he was so occupied with (the) swimming that he didn't catch sight of the shark'. On the other hand, a verb like *bijóti* requires the genitive case, but is still on the list of verbs that can govern an infinitive, cf. *jis bijo šunų* 'he is afraid of dogs' : *jis bijo ateiti* 'he is afraid to come'.

The infinitive can also be used after certain "neutral" adjectival forms like, for example, *sunkù* 'difficult', *leñgva* 'easy', *liūdna* 'sad', e. g: *sunku gyventi* 'it is hard to live', cf. p. 68.

The rules for the choice of *aspect* are the same as with finite forms, cf. p. 119 ff.

**Infinitive II**
*(Būdinỹs)*

Beside the *bendratis* (or "real infinitive") Lithuanian also has another infinitival form which is often referred to as 'infinitive II'.

**Formation and Stress**

This is an indeclinable form in *-te*. The stress is on the suffix (i. e. *-tė*) if the corresponding *ti*-infinitive is bisyllabic *(džiaũgtis > džiaugtė)*; if the regular infinitive has more than two syllables, infinitive II has the stress on the same syllable as infinitive I: *válgyti* 'to eat' > *válgyte*.

Reflexive and prefixal forms are absent.

A synonym of *-te* is the equally indeclinable *-tinai* with the same stress pattern as the form in *-te*. This form has not the same constraints in terms of reflexivization or

prefixation as the variant in *-te* although reflexive forms of unprefixed verbs are hardly used.

**Syntax of Infinitive II**

The second infinitive can be used only when accompanied by a finite form of the same verb root. Its function is *expressive/intensive*.

Illustration:

*Senė džiaugte džiaugėsi, kad sūnus savo išdaigas jau pamiršo* (Krėvė) 'The old woman was extremely glad that her son had already forgotten his pranks'.

An example of the form in *-tinai* is: *Toks jau lietuvių būdas: kai du vaidijasi, nors užsimuštinai mušasi, trečias bėga šalin* (Vaižgantas) 'The Lithuanians have such a habit: if two men are quarreling, even if they are almost killing each other, the third one will run aside (away)'.

Infinitive II is found mostly in fiction and folk songs.

## II. Gerunds and Participles

*(Pãdalyviai/pùsdalyviai* and *dalỹviai)*

Lithuanian possesses a rich inventory of participles, namely *two indeclinable* (both active), *two partly declinable* (equally active) and *eight declinable* participles (four active + four passive).

Both *imperfective* and *perfective* forms are encountered. The rules for their application are comparable to those of the finite forms, see p. 119 ff., but with more stress on the parameters *simultaneity* (= imperfective) vs. *non-simultaneity* (= perfective).

In many grammars of Lithuanian one will find four indeclinable participles which parallel the four active participles. However, future and frequentative past indeclinable gerunds are extremely rare and therefore omitted here.

By virtue of their functions the indeclinable and partly declinable participles may be labeled *gerunds*. In Lithuanian terminology the indeclinable participle is referred to as the *pādalyvis* whereas the partly declinable is called *pùsdalyvis* (literally "semi-participle").

# 1. The Gerunds

## Formation

### A. Indeclinable Gerunds

As mentioned above, *two* indeclinable gerunds are discerned, namely:

a) the gerund in *-Vnt* (reflexive *-Vntis* with unprefixed verbs)
b) the gerund in *-us* (reflexive *-usis* with unprefixed verbs)

a) The gerund in *-Vnt/-Vntis* is formed on the basis of the *stem of the present tense*, cf. p. 94. The *V* is represented as *a* with verbs of the I and III conjugations, as *i* with verbs of the II conjugation.

The *stress* is on the same syllable as in the 3rd p. of the present tense.

Example:
*išeĩnant* (*: išeĩti* 'walk out'),
*dõmintis* (: *domĕtis* 'be interested')

b) The gerund in *-us/-usis* is formed from the *past stem* (cf. p. 94).

The *stress* follows the 3rd p. of the past tense.

Example:
*išẽjus* (*: išeĩti* 'walk out')
*domĕjusis* (: *domĕtis* 'be interested')

These gerunds reflect petrified forms of the present and past active participles respectively. From a synchronic point of view they can be arrived at in the easiest way by dropping the *-i* of the fem. sg. nom. of these participles. Thus, for the correct derivation of gerundival forms the more detailed formational rules presented under the corresponding participles should be consulted.

### B. Partly Declinable Gerunds

Here it is customary to include only the *-dam*-formation. However, it appears practical to add also an *-ęs/us*-formation which can have gerundival functions.

Thus, as in the case of the indeclinable gerund, two formations are arrived at, namely a) the *-dam*-gerund and b) the *-ęs/-us*-gerund.

a) The *-dam*-gerund is formed from the *infinitive stem* (cf. p. 93). It is declined in gender and number.

*Reflexive* forms are in *-damasis* and *-damiesi* for the masc. sg. and pl. respectively; for the fem. the forms are *-damasi* (sg.) and *-damosi* (pl.). In prefixed forms the reflexive particle *-si-* is inserted between the (last) prefix and the root.

In the *immobile* type the *stress* is the same as in the infinitive.

Examples:

*domĕdamasis* (m. sg.), *domĕdamasi* (f. sg.), *domĕdamiesi* (m. pl.), *domĕdamosi* (f. pl.) (: *domĕtis* 'be interested').

Example of *mobile* accent: *išeĩdamas* (m. sg.), *išeidamà* (f. sg.), *išeidamì* (m. pl.), *išeĩdamos* (f. pl.) (: *išeĩti* 'walk out'),

b) The *ęs/us*-gerund is equally declined in gender and number. It is identical in form with the nominatives of the past active participle (see p. 158 below) and thus also cognate with the indeclinable *us*-gerund descibed in the preceding paragraph.

*Reflexive* forms are in *-ęsis* and *-ęsi* for the masc. sg. and pl. respectively; for the fem. the forms are *-usis* (sg.) and *-usiosi* (pl.). In prefixed forms the reflexive particle *-si-* is inserted between the (last) prefix and the root.

The *stress* is the same as in the 3 p. past tense.

Examples:

*išẽjęs* (m. sg.), *išẽjusi* (f. sg.), *išẽję* (m. pl.), *išẽjusios* (f. pl.) (: *išeĩti* 'walk out'),

*domĕjęs* (m. sg.), *domĕjusis* (f. sg.), *domĕjęsi* (m. pl.), *domĕjusiosi* (f. pl.) (: *domĕtis* 'be interested')

## Syntax and Semantics of the Gerunds

The *meaning* of the gerunds is illustrated through their English translations in examples under points A. and B. below.

The *-Vnt* and *-dam* gerunds (usually in imperfective forms) express actions which occur *simultaneously* with those of the verb in the main clause whereas the *us*-formations (in perfective forms) denote an action which is *not simultaneous,* but *anterior* to that of the verb in the main clause. To express an action which is *posterior* to the action expressed by the verb in the main clause, the prepositional adverb *prieš* is placed immediately before the *-Vnt-* or *-dam*-gerund.

From the *functional* point of view the gerunds are equivalent to *adverbial clauses* (most frequently time clauses).

**A. Indeclinable Gerunds**

The function of indeclinable gerunds is to replace adverbial clauses (see p. 225 ff.) *if the grammatical subject of the adverbial clause and the main clause are not identical.*

Examples:

*Kada vaikai dainavo, mokytojas dirigavo* > *Vaikams dainuojant, mokytojas diriguoja/dirigavo* 'when the children are/were singing, the teacher is/was conducting' (simultaneity) : *Kada vaikai padainavo, mokytojas išėjo vaikams padainavus, mokytojas išėjo* 'when the children had sung, the teacher went out' (non-simultaneity).

As illustrated through these examples the logical subject of the indeclinable gerund is in the dative case. The dative is often deleted in cases like *sningant* or *lyjant* for *sniegui sningant* 'when it is/was/will be snowing' and *lietui lyjant* 'when it is/was/will be raining' respectively.

Historically the indeclinable gerunds reflect a petrified form of the dative case; thus, originally there was agreement (in gender, number and case) between the gerund and the dative NP. Such a double dative construction with the same function is also found in Slavic.

Other illustrations:

*Saulei tekant, vaikai atsikėlė* 'while/when the sun was rising, the kids got up'; *Žuvus Mindaugui, Lietuva atsidūrė pavojuje* 'when Mindaugas had been killed/was dead, Lithuania found itself in danger'; *Universitete įkūrus Rytų Europos komitetą vis daugiau jaunuolių atvyksta ir iš ten* 'since one has established the committee for East European studies at the university (since the committee [...] has been established [...]), more and more young people are coming also from there'.

In the last example the gerund construction can be replaced by the following subordinate clause: *Kai universitete įkūrė Rytų Europos komitetą* 'since/when one had established [...]'. This is a so-called *personal one part clause* (see p. 220) with an obligatorily deleted subject of a *general* meaning corresponding to English 'one', German and Scandinavian 'man' which is different from that of the main clause *(daugiau jaunuolių)* whence the gerundival construction can be used.

In the following example the gerundival construction has replaced a subordinate *impersonal one part clause* (cf. p. 220) with an obligatorily deleted subject corresponding to English 'it' which again is

different from that of the main clause: *Persikelsime per upę prieš auštant* 'we'll cross the river before it is gets light / before dawn comes'.

With *identical* subjects in the subordinate and main clauses the gerund is used only when the subject of the main clause is expressed by another case than the nominative, i. e. so-called "logical subject", as, for example, in:

*Kada mes dainuojame dainą, mums reikia būti dėmesingiems* > *Dainuojant dainą, mums reikia būti dėmesingiems* 'when (we are) singing a song, we have to be attentive' (simultaneity) : *Kada mes padainavome dainą, mums galima pailsėti* > *padainavus dainą, mums galima pailsėti* 'when we have sung/upon having sung the song, we can rest' (non-simultaneity).

If *mums* is deleted in these examples with the gerund construction, a *general* meaning corresponding to English 'one' is obtained: *dainuojant dainą, reikia būti dėmesingam* 'when one is singing a song, one has to be attentive'; *padainavus dainą, galima pailsėti* 'when one has sung a song, one can rest'.

**B. Partly Declinable Gerunds**

The partly declinable gerunds can replace adverbial clauses *the grammatical subject of which is identical with that of the main clause*:

*Kada mokinys dainuoja/dainavo/dainuos, jis eina/ėjo/eis iš mokyklos namo* 'when the pupil is/was/will be singing, he is/was/will be going home from school' > *dainuodamas mokinys eina/ėjo/eis iš mokyklos namo* '(while) singing, the pupil is/was/will be going home from school'.

This was an example of *simultaneity* with the time for the occurrence of the action of the finite verb in contrast to *prieš dainuodamas mokinys eina/ėjo/eis iš mokyklos namo* 'before singing the pupil is/was/will be going home from school' which will serve as an illustration of *posteriority* and *padainavęs mokinys eina/ėjo/eis iš mokyklos namo* 'after having been singing the pupil is/was/will be going home from school' which presents a case of *anteriority*.

The perfective *padainuodamas* can be used in connection with a single concrete action: *padainuodamas dainą, žmogus galvojo, kad jį priims į operą* 'when singing the *daina* (song), the man thought that he would be accepted at the opera'.

Other examples:

*Kurį laiką jis tylėdamas skaitinėjo knygų pavadinimus* ... (A. Pocius) 'for some time he stood reading the titles of the books *without saying a word*';

- *Ar seniai čia jau mokytojaujate? - paklausė jis, sustojęs prie pat stalo* [...] (A. Pocius) 'have you been teaching here for long? - he asked, having stopped right by the table [...]'; *Prieš pirkdami bilietus, paskambinkite namo* 'before buying the tickets, (you should) call home'.

As can be seen from the examples, the partly declinable gerunds show *agreement* in gender and number with the (explicitly or implicitly expressed) grammatical subject of the main clause. The (petrified) nominative form is also in harmony with this subject.

## 2. The Participles

The inventory of Lithuanian participles may be demonstrated through the following table:

| | **Active** | **Passive** |
|---|---|---|
| **Present** | *stãt-ant-* 'building' | *stãto-ma-* '(being) built' |
| **Past** | *stãč-i-us-* '(the one who) built' | *(pa)statý-ta-* 'built' |
| **Frequentative past** | *statý-dav-us-* '(the one who) used to build' | Ø |
| **Future** | *statýsi-ant-* '(the one who) is going to be building' | *statýsi-ma-* 'the one who/which is going to be built' |
| **Participle of necessity** | | *statý-tina-* 'which should be built' |

All forms in the table are given in the stem form, not in a specific case, gender or number form. For full paradigms of the different types, see below.

As mentioned on p. 152 above there are four active and four passive participles. However, they do not constitute a symmetrical system since there is no passive counterpart to the frequentative past participle and no parallel to the so-called participle of necessity under the active voice. Further, the future passive participle is extremely rare.

As mentioned in the introduction (p. 152) participles can be formed both from perfective and imperfective verbs.

## Formation

**A. Active Participles:**

a) the *present participle* is formed on the basis of the *present stem* by adding *-Vnt-* and applying the same distributional rule for *V* which was given for the cognate indeclinable gerund in *-Vnt* (p. 153 above), e. g. *dìrba-nt-*'working', *kẽlia-nt-* 'lifting' in the 1st conjugation, *mýli-nt-* 'loving' (2nd conjugation), and *skaĩt-ant-* 'reading' (3rd conjugation). These are valid as stem forms for the whole paradigm except for the masc. nom. sg. and pl. which are in *-(i)ąs* (1st conjugation), *-įs* (2nd), *-ąs* (3rd) and *-(i)ą* (1st), *-į* (2nd), *-ą* (3rd) respectively. The interplay between *-Vnt-* and *-V(s)* is regulated by the "nasalization rule" (cf. p. 29 f.).

For *reflexive* forms, see below.

The *-nt*-participle is cognate with the *-nt-* participles in other IE languages (Slavic, Germanic, Romance, Greek and so on). Only the shape of the nom. pl. masc. of Lithuanian is enigmatic.

b) the *past participle* is formed on the basis of the *preterite stem* by dropping the *-o/-ė* of the 3 p. and adding *-us-*. In the case of verbs in *-tyti* and *-dyti* the dentals *t* and *d* undergo a change to *-č-* and *-dž-* respectively (thus *mãčius-* and *gýdžius-* < *mãtė, gýdė : matýti, gýdyti*). Observe the softening of the *č* indicated by the following prevocalic *i* (for explanation and motivation, see under the formation of *ė*-preterites, p. 104 f. above). As in the case of the present active participle the nom. sg. and pl. masc. deviate from the rest of the paradigm through the endings *-ęs* and *-ę* respectively.

This participle has also cognates in other IE languages (Slavic etc.).The *-ę(s)* of the masc. sg. and pl. nom., however, lacks evident parallels in other IE languages and may be the result of an internal Baltic arrangement, possibly generalization of the vocalism of the *ė*-preterite in order to obtain a maximum differentiation from the present participle from which it can have adopted the nasal. If this interpretation is correct, we envisage a heteroclitic paradigm since all other forms of the paradigm contain the *-us-*

marker which obviously represents the zero grade of the so-called perfect active participle which has cognates in a great number of IE languages, including Slavic.

*Declension of the Present and Past Active Participles:*

These two participles are declined according to the same pattern.

*Paradigms:*

| | **Present** | **Past** | **Present** | **Past** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M SG | M SG | F SG | F SG |
| N | dirbą̃s (dìrbantis) | dìrbęs | dìrbanti | dìrbusi |
| G | dìrbančio | dìrbusio | dìrbančios | dìrbusios |
| D | dìrbančiam | dìrbusiam | dìrbančiai | dìrbusiai |
| A | dìrbantį | dìrbusį | dìrbančią | dìrbusią |
| I | dìrbančiu | dìrbusiu | dìrbančia | dìrbusia |
| L | dìrbančiame | dìrbusiame | dìrbančioje | dìrbusioje |
| | M PL | M PL | F PL | F PL |
| N | dirbą̃ (dìrbantys) | dìrbę | dìrbančios | dìrbusios |
| G | dìrbančių | dìrbusių | dìrbančių | dìrbusių |
| D | dìrbantiems | dìrbusiems | dìrbančioms | dìrbusioms |
| A | dìrbančius | dìrbusius | dìrbančias | dìrbusias |
| I | dìrbančiais | dìrbusiais | dìrbančiomis | dìrbusiomis |
| L | dìrbančiuose | dìrbusiuose | dìrbančiose | dìrbusiose |

The bracket forms *dìrbantis* and *dìrbantys* for the pres. masc. sg. and pl. are analogical ("normalized").

*Reflexive* forms are arrived at by applying the general rules given on p. 97 above, e. g. *dõmįsis* (m. sg. nom.), *dõmintis* (f. sg. nom.), *dõmintiemsis* (m. pl. dat.) etc.; *domėjęsis* (m. sg. nom.), *domėjusis* (f. sg. nom.), *domėjusiemsis* (m. pl. dat.) (: *domėtis* 'be interested')

**Accentuation**

The accentuation of the *present participle* follows the pattern of the 3rd p. present tense of the finite form except for the nom. masc. sg. and pl. in *-ąs* and *-ą* respectively which (in some cases) are end-stressed in simple forms and regularly accented on the prefix in prefixed forms.

The accentuation of the *past participle* repeats that of the 3rd p. past tense.

Lithuanian and Latvian share an inflectional peculiarity with Slavic in that the original consonant stems have become *-jo//ī/jā*-stems. The former *yod* explains the transition of **nt* > *nč* in the present participle and of **-us-* > *-ˊus-* in the past; in the fem. sg. nom. the *-t-* and *-s-* are retained since they were followed by **-ī* (deriving from **iH* in the laryngealistic notation).

c) the *frequentative past participle* contains the element *-dav-* characteristic also of the finite forms of the frequentative past (see p. 106). The *-dav-*morpheme is immediately followed by the *-ę/us-* marker of the ordinary past participle. Thus, we arrive at the following paradigm of the verb *dìrbti*:

*dìrbdavęs, dìrbdavusio* etc. in the masc. sg.; *dìrbdavusi, dìrbdavusios* etc. in the fem. sg.; *dìrbdavę, dìrbdavusių* etc. and *dìrbdavusios, dìrbdavušių* etc. in the plural of the two genders respectively.

*Reflexive* forms are arrived at through application of the general rule in (p. 97).

d) the *future active participle* is in *-sią /-siant-* [ʂɑ:/ʂɛn-] in all three conjugations. It contains the same *-si-*marker as the finite forms of the future tense (see p. 106 above). Before a vowel the *-si-* yields *-ʂ* (represented as *-si-* in the orthography), cf. p. 24. The declension is exactly the same as that of the present participle which is illustrated in the *dirbą̃s/dìrbanti* paradigm above. The only difference is that the analogical (normalized) forms of the masc. nominative sg. and pl. seem to be rare (which may also be said of the future participle in general).

Thus one arrives at the following paradigm:

*dìrbsiąs, dìrbsiančio* etc. in the masc. sg.; *dìrbsianti, dìrbsiančios* etc. in the fem. sg.; *dìrbsią, dìrbsiančių* etc. and *dìrbsiančios, dìrbsiančių* etc. in the masc. and fem. pl.

*Reflexive* forms are derived according to the general rule set forth on p. 97 above.

**"Neuter" Forms**

Like the adjectives the participles also possess undeclined "neutral" forms. They are identical in form with the masc. pl. nom., e. g. *dirbą̃, dìrbę, dìrbdavę* and *dìrbsią* for the present, simple past, frequentative past and the future respectively.

**Pronominal (Long/Definite) Forms**

So far only the short (or indefinite) forms of the active participles have been dealt with. Below full paradigms of the pronominal (definite) form of the present and past participles will be given. Their morphological make up as well as the accent pattern is the same as with the adjectives, cf. p. 65 ff. above for comments.

| | **Present** | **Past** | **Present** | **Past** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M SG | | F SG | |
| N | dìrbantysis | dìrbusysis | dìrbančioji | dìrbusioji |
| G | dìrbančiojo | dìrbusiojo | dìrbančiosios | dìrbusiosios |
| D | dìrbančiajam | dìrbusiajam | dìrbančiajai | dìrbusiajai |
| A | dìrbantįjį | dìrbusįjį | dìrbančiąją | dìrbusiąją |
| I | dìrbančiuoju | dìrbusiuoju | dìrbančiąja | dìrbusiąja |
| L | dírbančiajame | dìrbusiajame | dìrbančiojoje | dìrbusiojoje |
| | M PL | | F PL | |
| N | dìrbantieji | dìrbusieji | dìrbančiosios | dìrbusiosios |
| G | dìrbančiųjų | dìrbusiųjų | dìrbančiųjų | dìrbusiųjų |
| D | dìrbantiesiems | dìrbusiesiems | dìrbančiosioms | dìrbusiosioms |
| A | dìrbančiuosius | dìrbusiuosius | dìrbančiąsias | dìrbusiąsias |
| I | dìrbančiaisiais | dìrbusiaisiais | dìrbančiosiomis | dìrbusiosiomis |
| L | dìrbančiuosiuose | dìrbusiuosiuose | dìrbančiosiose | dìrbusiosiose |

The pronominal (definite) forms of the future tense and frequentative past participles repeat the models demonstrated in the above paradigm.

N.B. Cumulation of pronominal and reflexive forms are avoided.

**B. Passive Participles**

Also here four participles can be distinguished:

a) the *present* passive participle (*m*-participle) can be said to be formed on the basis of the *1st pl. present tense* by replacing *-e* with *-as* for the nom. sg. masculine, *-a* for the feminine, cf. for example:

*sùkam-e* > *sùkam-as, sukam-à* 'which is being turned' (: inf. *sùk-ti*)
*kreĩpiam-e* > *kreĩpiam-as, kreipiam-à* 'which is being directed' (: inf. *kreĩpt-ti*)
*dãrom-e* > *dãrom-as, dãrom-a* 'which is being done' (: *darýti*)

To some extent *m*-participles are formed also from *intransitive* verbs, cf. for example *miẽgamas laĩkas* 'sleeping time, time for sleeping' (: *miegóti*, pres. *miẽga* 'sleep').

The reason for this ambiguity in terms of voice remains somewhat obscure. A plausible hypothesis which finds some empirical support is that the *m*-participle may originally have been neutral with respect to the opposition in voice between active and passive. The *m*- of the 1st pl. pres. has genetically nothing to do with the *m*-marker of the participle. The *m*-participle has cognates in other IE languages, among them Slavic.

The *m*-participle is declined like an adjective of the 1st declension (type *gẽras, gerà).*

The formation of the *pronominal* (long/definite) form also follows the *gẽras*-pattern, cf. for example *gẽras : geràsis = sùkamas : sukamàsis, gerà : gerój̃i = sukamà : sukamój̃i.*

In terms of *accentuation* the *m*-participle may be only class 1 or 3. To accent class 1 belong all verbs of the III conjugation as well as the I conjugational verbs in *-enti, -inti, -yti, -ėti, -oti, -ioti, -auti, -uoti.* All other types belong to accent class 3. A couple of examples: *dãromas, dãroma* 1 (: *darýti* 'do'); *gìriamas, giriamà* 3b (: *gìrti* 'praise').

b) the *past* passive participle (*t*-participle) is formed on the basis of the *infinitive stem* by replacing the *-ti* of the infinitive by *-tas* for the nom. sg. masculine, *-ta* for the feminine.

The *stress* rules are as follows:

all verbs (prefixed and unprefixed) with more than two syllables in the infinitive (unprefixed form) belong to accent class 1;

verbs with a bisyllabic form in the infinitive follow accent class 3 if the root is acute, class 4 if the root is non-acute (prefixed and non-prefixed verbs).

Examples:

*darý-ti* 'do' : *darýtas, darýta* (1); *dúo-ti* 'give' : *dúo-tas, duo-tà* (3); *baĩg-ti* 'finish, accomplish': *baĩg-tas, baig-tà* (4), *pà-baigtas : pa-baigtà* (3b).

Unlike Slavic and Germanic, Baltic does not distinguish between a *t*- and *n*- past passive participle, but has generalized the *t*-participle.

c) the *future passive participle* is in *-si-ma-* for all three conjugations. The declensional pattern is that of the *m*-participle derived from the present stem (cf. above). Although theoretically possible with many (primarily transitive) verbs, it is now more or less limited to

*bűsimas, būsimà* etc. (< the intransitive *bűti*) which has been adjectivized with the meaning 'future'. It has also a pronominal form, cf. *būsimàsis laĩkas* 'the future tense'.

For the potential ambiguity in terms of voice, cf. *mutatis mutandis* the so-called present participle in *-ma* above.

d) the passive *participle of necessity* in *-(ti)nas* is formed by adding the endings *-nas* (masc.), *-na* (fem.) to the verbal infinitive: *gìrtinas, girtinà* (: *gìrti* 'praise') 'which should be praised'. It is declined like an adjective of the first declension.

**"Neuter" Forms**

These indeclinables are in unaccented *-a*, e. g. *rãšoma, (pa)rašýta.*

**Reflexive Forms**

Such forms are rare. A possible example is *sténgtasi* [...] 'it has been endeavoured to [...]' (: *sténgtis* 'to endeavour').

## The Syntax of Participles

Participle forms used in *adverbial function(s)* have been treated as gerunds. Thus, this function has already been described (p. 155 ff. above).

Participle forms are further used as *parts of the verbal predicate* in compound tenses of the indicative and subjunctive active, in the relative mood as well as in the passive voice. For these functions, see pp. 114 ff., 134 ff. and 140 ff.

For the use of "neuter" forms, see pp. 143 and 222.

We are then left with *two* functions of the participles, namely 1) the *attributive* and 2) - its close cognate - the *appositive*, which coincide with functions also found under the adjective, cf. p. 67 ff. above. Like the adjective, *the participle in the attributive and appositive functions agrees with the head noun in gender, number and case* (on agreement, see p. 230 ff.). All fully declinable participles - both active and passive - are used in these functions.

**A. Active Participles**

a) *attributive* function

Examples:

*Greta šaltai blizgėjo susiraizgiusių bėgių eilės, o kiek toliau matėsi manevruojantys garvežiai ir dideli baltų dūmų kamuoliai tamsiame dangaus fone* (R. Lankauskas) 'nearby the rows of interlaced

(interlacing) rails glittered coldly, and somewhat farther manoeuvring engines and big white balls of smoke were seen against the dark background of the skies'.

There is agreement in gender, number and case between *susiraizgusių* and *bėgių* (= masc., pl., gen.) and between *manevruojantys* and *garvežiai* (= masc., pl., nom.).

*Anapus perono stovėjo kelionėn pasiruošęs traukinys* (Lankauskas) 'on the other side of the platform there stood a train ready for departure' (lit. 'prepared for journey'). Here again, full agreement (masc., sg., nom.) between *pasiruošęs* and *traukinys* is observed. This example may also serve as an illustration of the principle that constituents which are grammatically dependent on the participle (i. e. *kelionėn*) are as a rule placed immediately before the participle. Another example is *gulinčioji ant stalo knyga* or *ant stalo gulinčioji knyga*, cf. for instance Russian *ležaščaja na stole kniga* and German *das auf dem Tisch liegende Buch.*

2) *appositive* function

As mentioned in the chapter on adjectives (p. 67) an apposition is close in function to that of the attribute. Also in this function full agreement (i. e. in gender, number and case) between the participle and the governing noun has to be observed. The apposition is separated from the head noun through a pause in speech, a comma in written form: *Jis laukė traukinio, pasiruošiusio kelionėn* 'he waited for the train (which had) prepared for the journey'. The appositional construction can easily be transformed into an attributive: *jis laukė kelionėn pasiruošiusio traukinio.*

## B. Passive Participles

a) *attributive* function

Examples:

*Tiesa, studentams teisininkams ši integruoto mokymo sistema netaikoma* 'true enough, to the students of law this system of integrated learning is not applied' (from a newspaper); *studentai nuo pirmo iki paskutinio kurso uoliai lanko teisės fakultete dėstomas paskaitas* 'students from the first to the last course with diligence follow (the) lectures which are being given at the faculty of law' (from a newspaper).

In both cases there is agreement between the participle and the governing noun; thus *integruoto* is in the masc. sing. gen. in accordance with *mokymo* whereas *dėstomas* repeats the gender, number and case of

*paskaitas* which is fem., pl., accusative. The last sentence could easily be converted into an illustration of

2) *appositional* use:

*studentai* [...] *lanko paskaitas, dėstomas teisės fakultete* where the participle *dėstomas* agrees in gender, number and case with *paskaitas*.

After *verbs of perception* the construction noun or pronoun in the accusative case + agreeing participle can be encountered, cf. for example:

*Aš įsivaizduoju jį dirbsiantį* 'I can imagine her (when she will be) working'.

**The Passive Participle of Necessity**

This participle should be treated apart. It has three functions, 1) *attributive*, 2) *appositive* and 3) *predicative*.

Function 3) is the one most frequently encountered: *darbas (yra) darytinas* 'the work has to be done'

The combination of the participle of necessity with other tenses than the present tense seems artificial.

The construction with the participle of necessity is rather bookish. A stylistically unmarked alternative is the locution with the verb *reĩkia* 'is necessary' (: *reikėti*): *darbą* (N.B. accusative!) *reikia (pa)daryti* 'the work must be done'.

As an example of the participle of necessity in *attributive* function may serve: *jie aptarė darytinus darbus* 'they discussed the tasks to be done'.

**Concluding Remarks on Participles**

Like the adjectives the *attributively* and *appositively* used participles can be encountered in *nominal* (short/indef.) or *pronominal* (long/def.) form, but the distributional rules for their application seem to be less transparent than with the adjectives (see p. 69 f.).

Cumulation of *reflexive* and *pronominal* form is avoided.

The distribution between *perfective* and *imperfective* participles follows the principles set forth in the section on aspect (p. 119 ff.).

## III. Verbal Noun

The verbal noun (in a narrower sense) is formed from verbs with the help of the suffix *-Vmas*, where *V* = *i* in all cases with the exception of verbal nouns formed from III conjugation verbs in *-yti* in which case

the corresponding noun is in *-ymas*. It seems most practical to derive the verbal noun from the *preterite stem* which is obtained through deletion of the *-o* or *-ė* of the 3rd p.

1) *-imas*

Examples:
*patyr-ìmas* 'experience' < *pa-týr-ė* (: *pa-tìrti* 'to experience': *pà-tiria*) *judĕj-imas* 'movement' < *judĕj-o* > (: *judĕti* 'to move' : *jùda*)
*kláus-imas* 'question' < *kláus-ė* (: *kláusti* 'to ask' : *kláusia)*

2) *-ymas:*

Examples:
*prãšymas* 'application' < *prãš-ė (: prašýti* 'to request': *prãšo)*
*skaĩtymas* 'reading' *skaĩt-ė (: skaitýti* 'read'*: skaĩto)*

The *-Vmas*-suffix is very *productive*. In principle, verbal nouns of this kind can be formed from almost every verb in Lithuanian. As demonstrated through the above examples, however, the meaning of the verbal noun is not always simply that of the action indicated through the verb. Thus, whereas, for example, *skaĩtymas* means (or can mean) the action of reading, *prãšymas* and *kláusimas* have separated somewhat in meaning from the verb as they are (usually) not translated by the (abstract) action of requesting or asking respectively, but by (the more concrete notions of) 'application' and 'question'.

Verbal nouns in *-V-mas* can also be formed from *reflexive verbs*. The nominative of unprefixed reflexive verbal nouns is in *-imasis* and *-ymasis* according to conjugational type, cf., for example, *kreĩp-ti-s* 'address' > *kreipìmasis*). Verbal nouns from prefixed verbs according to the general rule insert the reflexive particle *-si-* between the (last) prefix and the root (stem) element, e. g. *at-si-svéikinti* 'say good-bye' > *at-si-svéikinimas* 'good-bye, farewell'. Compare also the locution *ikì pasimãtymo* 'so long'.

For the *declension* of reflexive nouns, see p. 42 f. above.

**Accentuation**

In verbal nouns derived from verbs with *monosyllabic* infinitive stems the stress falls on the suffix, e. g. *patyr-ìmas* < *patìrti*.

For verbal nouns derived from verbs with infinitive stems containing more than one syllable, the suffix is unstressed. These verbs stress the vowel immediately before the suffix. This holds good for all

nouns in *-ymas(is)* as well as the remaining cases with *-imas(is)*. For examples, cf. above.

# THE VERB: WORD FORMATION

## Suffixation

According to more recent contributions to Lithuanian verbal word-formation 9 basic suffixes are distinguished (Jakaitienė et al. 1976, p. 266). The amount would be considerably higher if variants were also taken into consideration.

The 9 basic suffixes are: *-au(ti)*, *-en(ti)* (rare), *-ė(ti)*, *-inė(ti)*, *-in(ti)*, *-y(ti)*, *-o(ti)*, *-telė(ti)* and *-uo(ti)*. Suffixal derivatives in Lithuanian can be *denominal* (i. e. derived from a nominal word class, above all nouns and adjectives) or *deverbal*. In some cases verbs are derived from interjections. The following survey in no way pretends to give a complete picture of the complex suffixal meanings.

(1) *-(i)au(ti)*. With the help of this very productive suffix verbs are derived mainly from nouns, e. g. *tarnáuti* 'serve' (< *tarnas* 'servant'), *blizgiáuti* 'use a spoon-bait (when fishing)' (< *blìzgė* 'spoon-bait'), *atostogáuti* 'be on leave; have one's holiday' (< *atóstogos* 'holidays, vacation'), *gėliáuti* 'collect/pick flowers' (< *gėlẽ* 'flower'), *grybáuti* 'collect mushrooms' (: *grỹbas* 'mushroom'). The different shades of meaning conveyed by this suffix are illustrated by the examples given. The stress (acute) is always on *-áu-*. Present stem forms are in *-áuj-* whereas preterite stem forms have (circumflexed) *-ãv-*.

(2) *-(i)uoti* is also a very productive suffix which can be denominal (nouns and adjectives) and deverbal. The nuances in meaning are illustrated through the following material: *angliúoti* 'make dirty with coal' (< *anglìs* 'coal'), *kritikúoti* 'criticize' (< *krìtika* 'criticism'), *dūdúoti* 'pipe' (< *dūdà* 'pipe'), *sapnúoti* 'dream' (< *sãpnas* 'dream'), *veršiúotis* 'calve' (< *veršis* 'calf'), *sūpúoti* 'rock (gently)' (< *sùpti* 'rock'), *tabalúoti* 'dangle' (deinterjectional). The stress is *-úo-* in the infinitival stem, in the present stem equally *-úoj-* , and in preterite stem formations *-ãv-*. A good number of verbs of foreign origin are found with this suffix.

(3) *-(i)oti* is both denominal and deverbal. Some examples to illustrate the different shades in meaning: *aukóti* 'sacrifice' (< *aukà* 'sacrifice'), *páikioti* 'be foolish' (< *paĩkas* 'foolish'), *meškerióti* 'fish, angle' (< *meškerẽ* '/fishing/ rod'), *galióti* 'be valid' (< *galià* 'power'), *nešióti* 'carry around' (< *nèšti* 'carry'), *kabalióti* 'hang down, dangle' (< *kabė̃ti* 'hang'). Like the following suffix in *-ėti* the *-yti*-suffix is relatively productive.

(4) *-ėti* is - like the preceding suffix - both denominal (esp. deadjectival) and deverbal. Illustration of meanings and derivational basis: *mažėti* 'diminish' (< *mãžas* 'small')', *baltėti* 'become white' (< *báltas* 'white'). The *ė*-suffix is present in all principal forms of the verb.

(5) *-yti* is - like the preceding suffix - both denominal (esp. deadjectival) and deverbal: *juodýti* 'become black' (< *júodas* 'black'), *gýdyti* 'cure' (< *gýti* 'recover'). The denominal verbs have present stem and preterite stem forms in *-ij-* (i. e. split of the *-y-*) whereas in the deverbal there is no trace of *-y/i(j)-* outside the infinitive stem; the present stem is formed with *-o-*, the preterite with *-ė-*. The *-yti*-suffix is productive like the following in *-inti*.

(6) *-inti* is both denominal and deverbal: *áuksinti* 'gild' (< *áuksas* 'gold', *augìnti* 'bring up; raise' (< *áugti* 'grow'). As can be seen from the examples, the meaning is *factitive* with denominal verbs, *causative* with deverbal.

(7) *-inėti* is equally both denominal and deverbal: *blusinėti* 'catch fleas' (< *blusà* 'flea'), *virtinėti* 'fall (often)' (< *viřsti* 'fall'). For the role played by this suffix to form imperfective verbs, see section on aspect.

(8) *-telėti* is deverbal and deinterjectional: *baubtelėti* 'roar' (< *baũbti* 'roar'), *bùmbtelėti* 'give a bang' (< *bùmbt* 'bang').

(9) *-enti: gyvénti* 'live' (< *gývas* 'alive').

## Prefixation

According to Jakaitienė et al. 1976, p. 266 Lithuanian distinguishes a total of 12 verbal prefixes, namely *ap(i)-, at(i)-, į-, iš-, nu-, pa-, par-, per-, pra-, pri-, su- and už-.*

1. The prefix *ap-* (variant *api-* before *p* and *b*) can among others have the following meanings: a) 'around': *apsùpti* 'surround', *apeĩti* 'go around', b) 'from all sides': *apžélti* 'become overgrown', c) 'at the side of, past': *apeĩti* 'go past', d) 'completion to some degree': *apgýdyti* 'heal (to some extent)', e) 'completion': *apàkti* 'become blind';

2. *at-* (*ati-* before *t* and *d*) denotes: a) 'arrival': *ateĩti* 'come, arrive', b) 'separation': *atpjáuti* 'cut off', *atimti* 'take away', c) 'return (to original position)': *atgáuti* 'get back', d) 'completion': *atbùkti* 'become blunt';

3. *į-* may denote: a) '(motion) into': *įeĩti* 'go (walk) into', b) 'attenuated intensity': *įleñkti* 'bend a little', c) 'completion': *įgáuti* 'get, obtain';

4. *iš-* has the following meanings: a) '(motion) out of': *išeĩti* 'go out of', b) '(a certain) duration': *išbudẽti* 'watch for a certain period', c) 'completion': *išgalą́sti* 'grind', d) 'ability to complete an action': *išdainúoti* 'be able to sing (a lot)', e) 'an all encompassing action': *išbučiúoti* 'to kiss all over';

5. *nu-* may denote: a) '(motion) away': *nueĩti* 'go away', b) '(motion) down': *nukrìsti* 'fall down', c) 'completion': *nutìlti* 'keep silent'. This prefix can also denote a wide range of other shades of meaning such as 'intensity' *(nugìrti* 'boast of'*)*, 'attenuation' *(numiegóti* 'slumber, doze'*)*, 'extension upon a surface' *(nuklóti* 'cover'*);*

6. *pa-* may denote: a) '(motion) under: *pakìšti* 'push under', b) 'short duration': *pakalbẽti* 'talk for a (little) while', c) 'attenuation': *padirbẽti* 'work a little', d) 'ability to do sth.': *paeĩti* 'be able to walk', e) 'completion': *padarýti* 'do';

7. *par-* can mean: a) 'coming home': *pareĩti* 'come/go home', b) 'falling to the earth': *parmèsti* 'fall down';

8. *pér-* (always stressed) may denote: a) '(motion) across or through': *péršokti* 'jump over', b) 'action from one performer to another': *pérduoti* 'transmit, deliver', c) 'division': *pérlaužti* 'break into pieces', d) 'beyond the norm(s) or a certain limit': *péreikvoti* 'spend too much money', e) 'do over again': *pérdažyti* 'paint over', f) 'a definite period of time': *pérnakvoti* 'spend the night';

9. *pra-* denotes: a) 'movement by/past': *pravažiúoti* 'drive past', b) 'movement through': *praláužti* 'break through', c) 'loss or lack of sth.': *praléisti* 'miss', d) 'passing some time': *prastovẽti* 'stand for some time', e) 'beginning of an action': *prabìlti* 'begin to speak', f) 'completion': *pralõbti* 'become rich';

10. *pri-* may denote: a) 'movement toward or fastening to': *prieĩti* 'go near to', *prisiū́ti* 'sew onto', b) 'putting/filling into': *prilýti* 'pour into', c) 'an action encompassing many things or a great quantity': *pristatýti* 'build (many objects)', d) 'attenuation': *primiršti* 'forget (a little), e) 'completion': *primùšti* 'beat';

11. *su-* may have the following meanings: a) 'congregation (and the like)': *suáugti* 'grow together', b) 'beginning of an action': *susiĩrgti* 'fall ill', c) 'completion': *suválgyti* 'eat up', d) 'sudden action': *sugriáusti* 'strike (of thunder)';

12. *už-* may denote: a) 'upward direction': *užlìpti* 'climb up', b) 'putting/ positing behind': *užstóti* 'stand behind', c) 'covering': *uždeñgti* 'cover', d) 'dropping in at (on the way)': *užbẽgti* 'drop in at', e) 'the beginning of an action': *uždainúoti* 'start singing', f) 'completion': *užáugti* 'grow up'. Other shades of meaning to be mentioned with this prefix are: 'momentaneous action' *(užrìkti* 'cry

out'), 'attenuation' *(užkąsti* 'take a snack'), 'action beforehand' *(užsakýti* 'book, order').

Comprehensive dictionaries will provide more complete information.

As is seen from the above list, most of the prefixes may have the meaning of 'completion' which is rather abstract and close to that of 'perfectivity', cf. section on aspect. In the same area belongs the meaning of 'beginning' which is also observed with a number of prefixes.

On the whole, there is a complicated interaction between prefix and verb which makes it dubious whether it is correct to speak of prefixal meanings alone. To some extent, however, it seems legitimate and practical to do so.

In some instances one observes special meanings when certain prefixes occur with reflexive verbs, e. g. with *į-*: 'acquaintance with/introduction into an action': *įsidìrbti* 'be accustomed to the work in question', *iš-* 'sufficient degree': *išsiveřkti* 'cry (enough)', *už-* 'about an action which has lasted too long': *užsikalbėti* 'forget oneself'.

## Verb Particles

Beside regular prefixes like *ap-*, *pa-* etc. Lithuanian has certain prefix-like particles which should be treated separately (see also p. 116 ff. and 127).

The particles in question are:

1) the reflexive particle *si*,
2) the particle of negation *ne-*
3) the particle *te-*
4) the particle *be-*

1) should hardly need further comments. It is an integrated morpheme of the reflexive verb which has been described both from the point of view of formation and use.

2) Only a short remark is required here about the particle of negation. When the content of the verb is denied, *ne* is written together with the verb, e. g. *neválgo* 'does/do not eat'. So-called double negation is treated on p. 177.

The functions of *te-* as a constituent of the *permissive* and of *be-* as a formational element of the *inceptive* and *progressive* have been dealt with on p. 129 and p. 127. In the following, other functions of *te-*

and *be-* will be focussed upon. They cause trouble to the student and are often untranslatable. See also p. 245 ff.

For the illustration of *te-* the following example should be quoted:

*Dėl to jų priskyrimas prie būdvardžių [...] tegali būti sąlyginis* 'therefore their incorporation among the adjectives can [...] only be accidental'.

Its function is here a kind of modification. A possible English translation would be 'only'. Thus, *te-* can be replaced by *tik*, but *te-* and *tik* can hardly be combined.

The particle *be-* may have a reinforcing shade of meaning as in: *Belieka džiaugtis, kad dar viena lietuvių poezijos atstovė išvesta į platesnį skandinavų pasaulį* 'it *remains* to express how pleased one is that one more representative of Lithuanian poetry has been introduced to the broader Scandinavian world'. It is not far in meaning from *te-*, but *telieka* would emphasize 'it remains as the *last* point'. In the following two examples *be-* seems to be used for exclusively stylistical and rhythmical purposes: *abiejose sekcijose vyko gyvos ir senokai mokslinėse konferencijose nebegirdėtos diskusijos* 'in both sections there were lively discussions of a kind which had not been heard at scientific conferences for a long time'; *vadovėlis bus naudingas visiems, besidomintiems baltistika* 'the handbook will be useful to everyone who is interested in Baltistics'. The translation 'still' can be used in: *begyvendami Varšuvoje, [...]* 'while *still* living in Warsaw, [...]'.

The particles *te* and *be* can be combined into *tebe-*: *Tebelieka tik paminėti, kad* [...] 'it remains really only to mention that [...]'; *prieš 415 metų Vilniuje tebegyveno karaliaus Stepono Batoro įspūdis* '415 years ago in Vilnius the impression of king S. B. was still living (alive)'. The combination *tebe* + *yra* is contracted to *tebėra: ji tebėra čia* 'she is still here'.

The above particles (together with the ordinary prefixes) can be combined in different ways whereby they are subject to a strict hierarchic order. For such hierarchic rules the chapter on word order should be consulted.

# Chapter 7

# THE ADVERB

*(Príeveiksmis)*

The adverb is a rather heterogeneous word class. Except for possible degrees of comparison the adverb is an indeclinable.

There are a good number of adverbs which can be said to be formed on the basis of *adjectives* (e. g. *geraĩ* 'well') whereas others have a common root with *pronouns*, namely the so-called pronominal adverbs (see chapter on pronouns), cf. for example *k-uř* 'where' (: *k-as*) and *t-en* 'there': (*t-as*). Furthermore, many adverbs have degrees of comparison (e. g. *geraĩ : geriaũ : geriáusiai*). Thus, the adverb could have been treated in the nominal part; still we prefer to present it after the verb.

Adverbs are formed with the help of the formatives *-(i)ai, -(i)ui, -yn, -(i)aip,-ur, -da.*

1. With the formative *-(i)ai* adverbs are derived from adjectives of the 1st and 2nd adjectival declensions as well as (adjectivized) participles of (almost) all kinds: *gẽr-as* > *ger-aĩ* 'well', *lietùviškas* > *lietùviškai, gražùs/gražì* > *graž-iaĩ* 'beautifully' (observe the obligatory 'soft' *-iai* in adverbs derived from adjectives of the II declension), *grasìnantis* > *grasìnančiai* 'threateningly', *kankìnamas* > *kankìnamai* 'in a tormenting way', *užsispýręs,* fem. *užsispýrusi* > *užsispýrusiai* 'stubbornly', *netikėtas* > *netikėtai* 'unexpectedly', *užtèktinas* > *užtektinaĩ* 'sufficiently'.

2. Adverbs in *-ỹn* can be formed almost without restrictions from bi-syllabic qualitative adjectives, for example *žẽmas* 'low' > *žemỹn* 'downwards' as well as certain polysyllabic adjectives and other parts of speech.

3. Adverbs in *-(i)aip, -ur* and *-da* are formed on the basis of pronominal roots, i. e. *šiaĩp* (: *šìs*) 'in this (the following) way', *taĩp* (: *tàs*) 'yes; so; thus', *šiaĩp taĩp* 'in some way or other', *kuř* 'where', *kituř* 'elsewhere' (: *kìtas*), *kadà* 'when', *visadà* 'always'.

Mention should also be made of the formations in *-(i)ui: apliñkui* 'around', *véltui* 'in vain'.

There are also other types of adverb than those mentioned under 1 - 3 above, for instance, certain (petrified) case forms of nouns like *namiẽ* 'at home', *namõ* 'home(wards)' *laukè* 'outdoors', *laukañ* (alongside the shortened form *laũk*) 'out (movement)', *vakarè* 'in the evening', *šiañdien* 'today' There is also the question of adverbialization of certain locutions (e. g. *iš greitų̃jų* 'in a hurry').

Just like the pronoun (p. 79 f.), the adverb also distinguishes between an *interrogative/relative,* an *indefinite* and a *negative* series. Important interrogative/relative adverbs are: *kur̃* 'where', *kadà* 'when', *kaĩp* 'how'. Within the series of indefinite adverbs the following should be mentioned: *kur nórs* 'somewhere, anywhere', *kažin kur̃ (kažkur̃)* 'somewhere, anywhere', *kada nórs* 'sometime, anytime', *kažin kadà (kažkadà)* 'sometime, anytime', *kaip nórs* 'somehow', *kažin kaĩp* 'somehow'. To the negative adverbs belong among others *niekadà* (or *niekadõs*) 'never', *niẽkur* 'nowhere' and *niẽkaip* 'in no way'.

**Stress Rules**

Since adverbs form a heterogeneous class exhaustive rules can hardly be given. The following guidelines, however, can be presented:

Most bisyllabic adverbs in *-ai* formed from Ist declensional adjectives have the stress on the final syllable (which is circumflexed), i. e. *geraĩ* 'well', *šlapiaĩ* 'moisty'. There are some exceptions to this principle, e. g. *greĩtai* 'rapidly'.

Bisyllabic adverbs in *-iai* formed from IInd declensional adjectives (i. e. the *-us/-i*-type) show end stress if the root syllable is short (*stipriaĩ* 'strongly'), but root stress if it is long (*meĩliai* 'kindly').

Polysyllabic adverbs in *-(i)ai* formed from adjectives repeat (with some exceptions) the stress found in the nom. sg. of the corresponding adjective: *laimìngai* 'happily' : *laimìngas*, *atidžiaĩ* 'attentively' : *atidùs*, but: *malõniai* 'pleasantly' : *malonùs*, *patõgiai* 'comfortably' : *patogùs*.

Adverbs in *-(i)ai* derived from active participles have the stress on the same syllable as the oblique cases of the corresponding participle whereas adverbs formed on the basis of passive participles, repeat the stress of the participle if the latter has immobile stress, but show end stress if the participle follows a mobile stress pattern (for examples, see p. 173). The principle described for adverbs derived from passive participles also holds good for the adverbs in *-tinai*. Example: *galutinaĩ* 'finally'.

The formations in *-da, -(i)aip* and *-yn* have end stress as already illustrated through examples quoted above. In terms of intonation adverbs in *-da* will automatically adopt the short accent whereas the other two show a circumflex intonation.

## Degrees of Comparison

Adverbs in *-(i)ai* derived from qualitative adjectives of the Ist and IInd adjectival declensions allow the formation of comparative and superlative forms in *-iaus* and *-iausiai* respectively:

| positive degree | comparative | superlative |
|---|---|---|
| geraĩ | geriaũ | geriáusiai |
| gražiaĩ | gražiaũ | gražiáusiai |

In dialects one also finds *-iaus* for the comparative, which makes it transparent that the comparative formative of adverbs contains the same element as the superlative of adverbs in contrast to adjectives, where the *-iaus-* element is restricted to the superlative. The dental stops *-t-/-d-* change into *-č-/-dž-* before *-(i)aus/iai: greĩtai : greičiaũ : greičiáusiai* 'rapidly'.

Analytical superlatives like *visų̃ greičiáusiai* (synonymous with *greičiáusiai* alone) can also be heard.

Also certain other adverbs form comparative and superlative degrees, for instance, *daũg* 'much' : *daugiaũ* 'more'. Note that adverbs which in the positive degree do not end in *-(i)ai* are in *-iáusia* in the superlative: *daugiáusia.*

**"Very fast : much faster" etc.**

For the techniques, see under syntax below.

**Accentuation**

The stress pattern of adverbs in the comparative and superlative degree is very simple: in the comparative it is always end stressed (with circumflex intonation) whereas in the superlative the stress rests on the second syllable from the end (with acute intonation, i. e. *-iáus-*).

## Syntax and Semantics of the Adverb

From a *semantic* point of view adverbs can be divided into: 1) *of manner* (*greĩtai, malõnai , grasìnančiai*), 2) *of place* (e. g. *čià, teñ, kuř, namõ*) , 3) *of time* (*tadà, kadà, visadà, dabař, šiañdien*), 4) *of cause and purpose (dėl tõ, todẽl, dėl kõ)* .

*Syntactically* adverbs can serve as modifiers of a verb (*eiti greitai* 'walk fast'), another adverb (*eiti labai greitai* 'walk very fast') or an adjective (*labai skanūs pusryčiai* 'a very good breakfast').

Illustrations of the use of the comparative and the superlative: *Algis eina greitai, o Vytas greičiau, bet Zigmas greičiausiai* (or: *greičiau už visus*) 'A. walks fast V. faster, but Z. fastest (of all).'

Whereas the adverb in the positive can be strengthened by *labaĩ*, in the comparative *daũg* must be used. Compare: *labaĩ geraĩ* 'very good (well)', *daũg geriaũ* 'much better'. More bookish synonyms for *daũg* before a comparative are *žỹmiai* and *pastebimaĩ* 'considerably'. A more colloquial nuance is observed in *šiek tiek*, whereas *ganà* is stylistically more neutral.

Within the group of *indefinite* adverbs the *nórs*-series is used in questions, the *kaž(in)*-series otherwise, cf. the corresponding pronouns, p. 79 f.

Illustration: *ar Jūs kada nors buvote Vilniuje? - Taip, kažkada.* 'have you ever been in Vilnius?' Yes, sometime'. For the *negative* adverbs care should be taken for the double negation which is required when adverbs of this kind are accompanied by a verb, e. g. *aš ten niekur nebuvau* 'I have never been there'.

## The Negation

There are four particles of negation in Lithuanian: *ne-, nẽ, neĩ* and *niẽ-*.

The most common one is *ne* which is written together with the word which is negated, most frequently a verb, e. g. *jis nekalba lietuviškai* 'he does not speak Lithuanian'. The combination *ne* + *yra* is contracted to *nėrà*.

The negated correspondance to utterances with a deleted copulative predicate of the type *jis studentas* 'he is a student' is *jis ne studentas* 'he is not a student'.

As illustrations of *ne-* with other word classes than verbs may serve: *neláimė* 'misfortune', *negẽras* 'not good; bad', *neverta* 'not worth(y)', *nežìnomas* 'unknown', *neláuktas* 'unexpected'.

The *nė*-particle has a strengthening function, cf. the following examples: *tu nė to nežinai* 'you don't know even that', *apie tai nė žodžio* (cf. for the genitive p. 185) 'not a single word about that', *šiandien gražus oras - nė debeselio* 'to-day the weather is nice - not a single cloud', *nė vienas* 'not a single one'.

If *nė* is combined with another *nė*, it can constitute a negated copulative pair, e. g. *jis neturi nė tėvo, nė motinos* 'he has neither a father nor a mother'.

The most common way of expressing 'neither - nor' in Lithuanian is, however, the combination *nei* + *nei*: *nei šilta, nei šalta* 'neither warm, nor cold'.

The negational element *nie-* is encountered with negated adverbs (cf. p. 176) and pronouns (p. 81 f.), e. g. *niẽkur* 'nowhere', *niẽkas* 'nobody, nothing'.

The *nie*-negation alone is not "strong" enough and must be reinforced by *ne-*, so-called *double negation*, e. g. *paramos iš niekur nelaukiu* 'I don't expect support from anywhere' (lit. 'I don't expect support from nowhere'). When accompanied by a verb, also the *nė*-negation requires reinforcement by *ne*, cf. the above example *tu nė to nežinai*.

# Chapter 8

# CASE

*(Liñksnis)*

A chapter on case should include both prepositional and non-prepositional use. However, certain considerations - both practical and theoretical - have led the author to treat prepositional functions in a separate chapter under the heading "Prepositions".

The syntactic functions of the five oblique cases in Lithuanian, i. e. all cases except the nominative and the vocative, can be of three kinds:

1) *adnominal* (= governed by a *nominal* word class, i. e. a noun, an adjective, a pronoun or a numeral),
2) *adverbal* (= governed by a verb),
3) *adverbial* (= with the same function as an adverb)

We consider this disposition a practical and adequate one despite the fact that 3) is not parallel with 1) and 2) since adverbial does not mean *governed by* an adverb, but *functioning as* an adverb. An alternative and in a way more consistent solution would have been to work with the notions 'government' (Lith. *valdymas*, see p. 214) and 'juxtaposition' (or 'adjunction', Lith. *šliejìmas*, Russian *primykanie*, p. 214), but in that case we would have had to put under the heading government what is dealt with both under 1) and (the bulk of) 2) above, which in our view would have meant a less transparent and practical disposition. Furthermore, the notion of *primykanie/šliejìmas* - well known in Russian and Lithuanian (and other 'East European') grammatical traditions, but less in the West - would be unfamiliar to many readers. (For more on 'government' and 'adjunction', see chapter on the sentence, especially p. 214.)

A third possibility, namely to follow a scheme *object* vs. *adverbial* relations would not have paid due attention to point 1).

Below we will proceed according to the scheme 1 - 3 and describe the functions of the cases in the following order: the genitive, the accusative, the instrumental, the dative and the locative. Finally, the functions of the two non-oblique cases, the nominative and the vocative, will be dealt with.

# THE GENITIVE

This is a widely used case in Lithuanian which is encountered both with and without prepositions (for prepositional use, see chapter "Prepositions").

The genitive has adnominal and adverbal functions whereas the adverbial seems to be absent.

Both under the adnominal and adverbal type a *partitive* and *non-partitive* function should be distinguished. The partitive genitive expresses a part of a certain quantity as for example in *puodukas kavos* (adnominal type) 'a cup of coffee' and *išgerti kavos* (adverbal type) 'to drink (some) coffee'. As examples illustrating non-partitive use may serve *vaiko tėvas* 'the boy's father' (adnominal type) and *laukti traukinio* 'to wait for the train' (adverbal type).

## I. Adnominal Genitive

### 1. Non-Partitive Genitive

The governing word can here be a noun or an adjective.

**A. The governing Word is a Noun**

In this case the genitive is typically *preposited*. The following functional types should be distinguished:

a) the possessive (in a broad sense encompassing both possession and belonging),
b) the subjective,
c) the objective,
d) the *definitivus* (explicativus),
e) the descriptive
f) that of material

a) The Possessive Genitive

Illustrations: *sesers pinigai* '(the) sister's money', *Akademijos narys* 'member of the Academy', *universiteto studentai* 'the students of (at) the university', *žmogaus koja* 'the man's foot'.

Note: For constructions like *mano/tavo pinigai/namas* 'my/your money/house', see p. 75 f.

It is noteworthy that instead of an adjective in languages like Slavic, Germanic and Romance Lithuanian will often use a noun in the genitive case, e. g. *lietuvių kalba* 'the Lithuanian language' (lit. 'the language of the Lithuanians'), cf. also point f) below.

b) the Subjective and c) the Objective Genitive

The governing words are here exclusively *verbal* nouns.

As examples of the *subjective genitive* may serve the noun phrases *keleivių atvykimas* 'the arrival of the travellers' and *Kolumbo atradimas* 'Columbus' discovery', cf. the corresponding verb phrases *keleiviai atvyksta* 'the travellers arrive' and *Kolumbas atrado* 'C. discovered' with *keleiviai* and *Kolumbas* in the function of subjects.

An example of the *objective* genitive is *Amerikos atradimas* 'the discovery of America', cf. *atrasti Ameriką* 'to discover America' with *Ameriką* as object). Observe that only verbal nouns which correspond with *transitive* (i. e. non-prepositional accusative governing) verbs can be construed with the objective genitive.

The subjective and objective genitive can be combined in Lithuanian, although many Lithuanians will find such constructions rather clumsy, cf. for example *Kolumbo Amerikos atradimas* 'C's discovery of A./the discovery of A. by C.'.

The combination of these two genitives does not seem to be possible in Slavic; thus, the Russians must replace the subjective genitive by the instrumental case, the Poles by the preposition *przez* which is parallel to the German solution with *durch* ('die Entdeckung Amerikas durch Kolumbus').

For the grammarian the problem arises whether the genitive *Kolumbo* in the locution *Kolumbo (Amerikos) atradimas* represents the objective genitive or the agentive (since the performer of actions in the passive voice in Lithuanian is in the genitive, see page 185 f. below). What we envisage here is a case of neutralization between two functions.

d) *genitivus definitivus* (explicativus)

As illustrated by the following examples this type of genitive is more widely used in Lithuanian than in many other languages:

*profesoriaus titulas* 'the title of professor', *Vilniaus miestas* 'the city of Vilnius', *Nemuno upė* 'the river Nemunas', *Tiesos laikraštis* 'the newspaper *Tiesa*'.

This genitive is labeled "definitivus" because the above noun phrases can be transformed into verb phrases of the following *defining* character: *profesorius yra titulas, Vilnius yra miestas, Nemunas yra upė* etc. It follows from this test that a word group like *Vilniaus*

*universitetas* does not belong to group d), but can only be interpreted as a).

e) the Descriptive Genitive

This genitive is illustrated by examples like *mergaitė mėlynų akių* 'a girl with blue eyes', *vyras plačių pečių* 'a man with broad shoulders'. A peculiarity of this genitive is its frequent postposition. It can, however, also be preposited and thus follow the mainstream model of the non-partitive genitive: *mėlynų akių mergaitė, plačių pečių vyras.*

Instead of the genitive a compound attributive adjective may be used: *melynakė mergaitė, plačiapetis vyras.* See also the adnominal instrumental below.

f) The Genitive of Material

This genitive denotes the material which something consists of: *aukso žiedas* 'golden ring, ring of gold', *gintaro karoliai* 'amber beads'.

Observe that constructions with prepositions cannot be used with this genitive in Lithuanian. In most cases, however, it can be substituted by an attributive adjective, i. e. *auksinis žiedas, gintariniai karoliai.*

**B. The governing Word is an Adjective**

Here belongs the adjective *veřtas* 'worthy of': *ji yra verta pagyrimo* 'she is worthy of praise'.

## 2. The Partitive Genitive

The partitive adnominal genitive can be governed by a noun, an adjective, a numeral and certain other quantifiers.

With non-countable objects the genitive singular is used, with countable the plural.

**A. The governing Word is a Noun**

Unlike the non-partitive genitive, the partitive is *postposited.*

Examples:

*butelis alaus* 'a bottle of beer', *litras pieno* 'a litre of milk', *metras šilko* 'one metre of silk', *dauguma studentų* 'the majority of the students'.

If the word order in *butelis alaus* is changed into *alaus butelis* the partitive meaning is lost. The latter combination means 'a beer bottle'.

B. **The governing Word is an Adjective**

The adjectives *pìlnas* 'full', *turtìngas* 'rich' and *reikalìngas* 'in need of' require a partitive genitive: *stiklinė (yra) pilna vandens* 'the glass is full of water', *Norvegija (yra) turtinga naftos* 'Norway is rich in oil'; *mes buvome reikalingi pinigų* (rare construction) 'we were in need of money'.

**C. The governing Word is a Numeral**

In the realm of the adnominal partitive genitive also belongs the genitive required after certain numerals, namely the tens, the numbers 11-19 as well as *šimtas, milijõnas, milijárdas*: *dešimt/vienuolika/trisdešimt/šimtas/milijonas draugų* 'ten/eleven/thirty/hundred/one million friends'.

But: In *trys/penki/dvidešimt trys/dvidešimt penki draugai* 'three/five/twenty three/twenty five friends' there is agreement (p. 230) and not government between the numeral and the counted objects. See also chapter on numerals (p. 85 f.).

**D. The governing Word is expressed by other Quantifiers**

The partitive genitive is obligatory after quantifiers like *daũg* 'much, many' and *mãža* 'little, few', *kíek* 'how much/many?', cf. for example *daug/maža vyno* 'much/little wine', *daug/maža draugų* 'many friends', *kiek vyno?* 'how much wine?', *kiek draugų?* 'how many friends?'

# II. Adverbal Genitive

As pointed out above (p. 179) the adverbal genitive can be either partitive or non-partitive. In this section we will begin with

## 1. Partitive Function

**A.** *Certain transitive verbs.* A partitive genitive is encountered after some otherwise *transitive* verbs (i. e. verbs requiring a direct object in the accusative case) like for instance *įteĩkti* in *mergaitė įteikė svečiui gėlių* 'the girl handed flowers to the guest', *pirkti* in *pirkti duonos, sviesto, sūrio, cukraus, miltų* 'to buy (some) bread, butter, cheese, sugar and flour'.

The genitive is here contrasted with the accusative, cf. *mergaitė įteikė svečiui gėles* 'the girl handed the flowers to the guest', *pirkti*

*duoną, sviestą, sūrį, cukrų ir miltus* 'to buy (all) the bread, butter, cheese, sugar and flour (which is present)'.

Thus, an important opposition between the *genitive* expressing that only a *part* (hence the notion partitive) *of the object* is encompassed by the verbal action and the *accusative*, implying command of the *whole object*, is apparent.

This genitive : accusative case opposition often corresponds to the indefinite : definite opposition in languages which have developed a system of articles, such as for instance English, German and the Scandinavian languages.

Finally, mention should also be made of (colloquial, perhaps somewhat obsolete) expressions like *paskolink man peilio* 'let me have the knife (for a moment)' contrasted with the accusative construction *paskolink man peilį* where the "partitive of time"-meaning is absent.

In Standard Russian the partitive function is restricted roughly to verbs belonging to the perfective aspect (compare for example *kupiť* (pf.) *xleba* (gen.) 'to buy (some) bread' : *kupiť* (pf.) *xleb* 'to buy (all) the bread', but always *pokupať* (ipf.) *xleb* (acc.) 'to buy (the) bread'. This principle is not observed in Lithuanian, cf. the imperfective *pirkti* above.

**B. Existential Constructions**

A similar *indefinite : definite opposition* is seen between the *genitive* and the *nominative* with the *intransitive* verb *būti* 'to be', cf. the following pair of examples: *zooparke buvo liūtų, lokių ir leopardų* 'in the zoo there were lions, bears and leopards' and *Liūtai, lokiai ir leopardai buvo zooparke* 'the lions, bears and the leopards were in the zoo'. Observe also the difference in word order (cf. p. 236 ff.).

Also synonyms of *bū́ti* like *atsiràsti* 'appear', *pasiródyti* 'appear', *įvykti* 'happen, occur' allow the partitive construction: *laikraštyje atsirado naujų faktų* 'in the newspaper new facts turned up'.

**C. The Genitive with Verbs with the Meanings 'to be lacking' and 'to be sufficient'**

Here belong among other verbs *reikė́ti* 'to need', *trū́kti* 'to be lacking', *pakàkti* 'to be sufficient': *mums reikia/trūksta/pakanka jėgų* 'we need/are lacking/have sufficient strength'. For type of construction, see p. 219 ff.

## 2. Non-Partitive Function

**A. Genitive verbs**. Quite a considerable number of Lithuanian verbs govern the genitive. They belong mainly to such semantic fields as

a) "striving for/towards" and b) "avoidance of". Genitive governing verbs with similar meanings are also found in a number of other Indo-European languages.

Common verbs under a) are: *ieškóti (buto/teisybės)* 'to look for (a flat/the truth)', *ilgėtis (savo tėvų)* 'to long for (one's parents)', *kláusti (kelio)* 'ask for/about (the road/route)', *klausýti (tėvų)* 'to obey (the parents)', *klausýtis (muzikos)* 'to listen to (the music)', *láukti (traukinio)* 'to wait for (the train)', *laikýtis (dietos)* 'to keep/follow (the diet)', *linkėti (kam viso gero)* 'to wish (sby the very best)', *mókytis (istorijos)* 'learn/study (history)', *mókyti (ką lietuvių kalbos)* 'to teach (somebody Lithuanian)', *norėti (arbatos)* 'to want (tea)', *prašýti (ką pagalbos/pinigų)* 'to ask (sby for help/money'), *síekti (laimės)* 'strive for (happiness)', *tikėtis (paramos)* 'to hope for (help)', *trókšti (taikos)* 'to thirst/yearn/long for peace'.

Under b) should be mentioned: *bijóti* or *baidýtis (vilko)* 'to be afraid of (the wolf)', *išsigą̃sti (griaustinio)* 'to be frightened (with/by the thunder)', *gėdytis (savo pasielgimo)* 'to be ashamed about (one's behaviour)', *sáugotis (traukinio)* 'to mind (the train)', *šãlintis* or *véngti (žmonių)* 'to avoid (people)'.

Not so easy to fit into a) and b) are verbs like *gailėti(s) (brolio)* 'to feel sorry for (the brother)', *nustóti (proto)* 'to lose (one's senses) and *pavydėti (kam turto)* 'to envy (sby his/her/their fortune)'.

Some comments on the verbs listed above are necessary:

Genitive-governing verbs are partly reflexive, partly non-reflexive. A reflexive genitive-governing verb may be opposed to a transitive (= accusative requiring verb), e. g. *baidýtis* 'to be afraid of' vs. *baidýti* 'to frighten'. In the meaning 'to learn (thoroughly/by heart)' the reflexive *mókytis* takes the accusative: *mokytis pamoką* 'to learn the lesson'. In the sense of 'to beg, urge' the verb *prašýti* normally requires the accusative (of the person), e. g. *prašyti dievą* 'ask God', but also the genitive occurs. Thus, this verb may be accompanied by a double set of genitives: *jis pradėjo kvailučio prašyti tų vaistų* 'he began asking the fool about those medicines'. There are also other verbs in the list above which combine with more than one object (accusative + genitive, dative + genitive).

With certain verbs a partitive nuance can be felt (e. g. *norėti arbatos, prašyti pinigų*).

For genitive-governing verbs with the meanings 'to be lacking' and 'to be sufficient', see under the partitive function above.

**B. Negative Constructions**

a) Whereas in positive statements the direct object of transitive verbs is in the accusative case, in the corresponding negated sentences the

object will be in the genitive, cf. *aš nusipirkau naują dviratį* 'I have bought a new bicycle' : *aš nenusipirkau naujo dviračio* 'I have not bought a new bicycle'. This rule is strictly observed in Lithuanian, but only (as in the above example) when the whole sentence, and not a specific word alone, is negated as in the following case: *aš nusipirkau ne naują dviratį, o/bet mašiną* 'I haven't bought a new bicycle, but a car' in which case the accusative must be used.

The genitive rule should also be applied in cases with a negated auxiliary + an infinitive of a transitive verb as, for instance, in *aš nenoriu pirkti dviračio* 'I don't want to buy a bicycle'. Only when there is a long distance between the auxiliary and the relevant infinitive is vacillation between the genitive and the accusative admitted: *aš nenoriu šiandien eiti į parduotuvę (ir) pirkti dviračio/dviratį* 'I don't want to go to the shop and (to) buy a bicycle to-day'.

The origin of this genitive of negation which is also found in Slavic with parallels in Balto-Finnic languages, remains obscure. Some scholars hold it to be of an ablative (deprivative) nature (cf. the A-verb sphere in the preceding paragraph), while others tend to connect it with the partitive.

b) The (logical) subject (= grammatical object) of negated existential and related constructions is always in the genitive in Lithuanian, cf. for example: *zooparke nebuvo liūtų* 'in the zoo there were no lions', *tėvo nėra namie* '(the) father is not at home'. In the corresponding positive construction the lexeme *tėv-* must be in the nominative since it is the grammatical subject of the sentence: *tėvas yra namie* 'father is at home'. For logical subjects in the genitive in positive statements, see p. 183 above.

The use of a non-nominative form in the function of logical subject in existential constructions also has parallels in Slavic and Balto-Finnic languages.

c) the Agentive

The agentive (or agent) which is the performer of the action in formally passive constructions, is expressed in Lithuanian by the genitive: *tėvų mylimas vaikas* 'a child loved by its parents', *tėvo/mano parašytas laiškas* 'a letter written by the father/by me', *laiškas buvo tėvo/mano parašytas* 'the letter was written by (the) father/by me'. Observe that with the personal pronouns *àš* and *tù* the forms *màno* and *tàvo*, and not **manęs, tavęs* are used in the function of the agent. With respect to word order it should be noticed that the agent is placed immediately before the passive participle. Care should, however, be taken with cases like *draugo išversta knyga* and *išversta draugo knyga*

which are not identical in meaning since the first means 'the book translated by the (my) friend' while the second can mean only 'the translated book which belongs to the (my) friend'.

For the instrumental case in agent-like functions, see under the instrumental.

The chapter on voice should be consulted for further information on the passive (p. 139 ff.).

The agentive seems to be on the borderline between the adverbal and adverbial function, but since the Lithuanian genitive seems to lack obvious adverbial functions it is practical to label it adverbal.

The same may be said about:

d) The Genitive of Purpose

The genitive of purpose is encountered *after verbs of motion* as for example in: *eisim grybų/uogų* 'let's go and/in order to collect mushrooms/berries'.

Close to this function is also the genitive found in the grammatical context *verb of motion + a dependent infinitive of a transitive verb,* e. g.: *vaikai išbėgo tėvo pasitikti* 'the children ran out to welcome their father'.

Under this heading mention may further be made of the type *ką virsi pietų?* 'what are you preparing for dinner?' (alongside *ką virsi pietums?*).

The locution *(pa)sveikinti ką gimtadienio* 'to congratulate somebody on his/her birthday', however, seems to be somewhat obsolete; today one would prefer to say *(pa)sveikinti ką su gimimo diena.*

## THE ACCUSATIVE

The accusative may to some extent be said to be in a state of complementary distribution with the genitive as far as its adverbal functions are concerned (cf. the non-partitive direct object in positive statements in contrast to the partitive genitive object and to the genitive object in negative constructions). Furthermore, the adverbal function is the only one which the accusative and the genitive have in common since the accusative lacks the adnominal function and the genitive the adverbial which - alongside the adverbal - is of such vital importance with the accusative.

## I. Adverbal Accusative

Lithuanian verbs can govern different oblique cases, the genitive, the accusative, the dative, the instrumental and the locative. The absolute majority of the verbs, however, require the accusative (as a direct object) and are called *transitive, e. g. skaityti knygą* 'to read a book', *(pa)statyti namą* 'to build a house'.

A feature characteristic of verbs with the accusative is that they can be transferred from active to passive forms, cf. *rašyti laišką/statyti namą* 'to write a letter/to build a house' : *(pa)rašytas laiškas/statomas namas* 'a written letter/a house which is being built'.

In Slavic languages *reflexive* verbs are as a rule not capable of governing the accusative case and are therefore intransitive. This restriction is not observed in Baltic where an accusative object can also be governed by a reflexive verb, cf. for example *darbininkas aunasi specialius darbo batus* 'the worker puts on special worker's boots', *jis statosi naują namą* 'he is building a new house'. The meaning of the reflexive is here 'in one's own interest'. See also under the dative case below.

Since the number of verbs governing other cases than the accusative is rather limited, it is customary to present lists of verbs governing the other oblique cases, but not the accusative because such a list would be very long and therefore impossible in a grammar. It belongs naturally in the dictionary.

Also more than one object may occur. Thus, the combintion *dative + accusative* is frequent, following the formula the indirect object (denoting a person) in the dative, the direct (denoting a thing) in the accusative, e. g. *duoti/siųsti/rašyti kam* (dat.) *ką* (acc.) 'to give/ send/write sby sth'.

The verb *mókyti* 'to teach' (which was also referred to under the genitive above) combines with *accusative + genitive*, e. g. *mokytojas moko mokinius* (acc.) *matematikos* (gen.) 'the teacher teaches the pupils mathematics'.

## II. Adverbial Accusative

As in a number of other Indo-European case languages the accusative covers the adverbial functions of:

a) *time*,

b) *measure and quantity* (other than time).

a) can be divided into three subdivisions:

1. *duration* (answering the question *how long?*): *jis išbuvo čia visą dieną/valandą* 'he was here (for) a whole day/one hour'.

2. *frequency* (answering the question *how often?*): *ji ateidavo čia kiekvieną dieną/kas valandą* 'she came here every day/every hour'.

3. *time units* such as days of the week, seasons of the year (answering the question *when?*): *jis buvo čia sekmadienį/dieną/naktį/praėjusią savaitę/rudenį* 'he was here on Sunday/during the day (in the daytime)/in (during) the night/last week/in the autumn'.

b) answers the questions *how much/far?*: *šita knyga kainuoja (vieną) litą* 'this book costs one litas', *siuntinys sveria (vieną) kilogramą* 'the parcel weighs one kilogramme', *jis nuvažiavo penkis kilometrus* 'he travelled five kilometres'.

# THE INSTRUMENTAL

The instrumental is widely implemented in Lithuanian and has all three basic functions, i. e. 1) the adnominal, 2) the adverbal, and 3) the adverbial.

## I. Adnominal Instrumental

### A. Nouns governing the Instrumental Case

Except for verbal nouns in *-i/ymas* (cf. p. 166 f.) derived from verbs construed with the instrumental, there seem to be very few nouns governing the instrumental in Lithuanian. One example would be *prekyba kuo nors* 'trade, commerce with sth'. The noun *prekyba* is related to the verb *prekiauti* 'trade' which equally requires the instrumental.

Beside the *descriptive* genitive (see p. 181 above) a synonymous construction with the instrumental is also found: *mėlynų akių mergaitė : mergaitė mėlynomis akimis* 'a girl with blue eyes'. In the following case only the instrumental is possible: *mergaitė dryžuota suknele* 'a girl in a striped dress'.

### B. Adjectives and Participles Governing the Instrumental Case

Only very few adjectives and adjectivized participles can govern the instrumental case. An adequate example is *patenkintas* 'satisfied' (e. g. *viskuo patenkintas* 'satisfied/pleased with everything'). In other cases the meaning is usually 'with respect to' (as for example in *sotus duona* 'satisfied with bread') which can be regarded as a predictable (adverbial) instrumental.

## II. Adverbal Instrumental

### A. Instrumental Object with Autosemantic Verbs

There are a number of verbs in Lithuanian which may be said to govern the instrumental case. The most important are the following (characteristically *reflexive*) verbs:

*didžiúotis kuo* 'to be proud of sth', *domė́tis kuo* 'to be interested in sth', *gìrtis kuo* 'boast of sth', *grožė́tis kuo* 'admire sth', *naudótis kuo* 'to make use of, profit /benefit by sth', *pasižymė́ti kuo* 'to distinguish oneself through sth', *rū̃pintis kuo* 'to care for sby/sth'. In these cases the instrumental is not too far from the predictable instrumental of the instrument (see under adverbial instrumental below), but not so transparent that a list is superfluous. The verb *naudótis* can also be used without the reflexive, but is then a transitive (requiring the accusative case), e. g. *naudoti gamtos turtus* 'to exploit the resources of nature' whereas *domė́tis* has a transitive counterpart in *dõminti*: *mane domina ši problema* 'I am interested in this problem; this problem interests me'. The solution with the reflexive verb would be: *aš domiuosi šia problema.*

Further reflexives with the instrumental are: *atsikratýti kuo* (or: *nuo ko*) 'to get rid of sby/sth', *skū́stis kuo* 'to complain of sby/sth', *džiaugtis kuo* 'to be glad/happy for sth.', *stebė́tis kuo* 'to be surprised at sth' and *žavė́tis kuo* 'to be excited by sth'.

Among the few *non-reflexive* verbs governing the instrumental should be mentioned: *kvepė́ti* (with synonyms) *kuo* 'to smell sth' (e. g. *kvepia šienu* 'there is a smell of hey'), *prekiáuti kuo* 'to trade with sth', *sèkti kuo* 'to follow sby/sth (in the meaning 'to imitate', e. g. *sekti mada* 'to follow the fashion'), *sir̃gti kuo* 'to be ill with sth' and *tikė́ti kuo* 'to believe in sby/sth'. Observe that the reflexive *tikė́tis* has quite another meaning, namely 'hope (for)' and requires the genitive: *tikė́tis paramos* 'to hope for help' (cf. p. 184 above).

### B. Instrumental after Copulative Verbs

Copulative verbs are verbs with the meanings 'to be, become, pretend, turn out to be' and certain others.

In a number of languages to the South and East of the Baltic Sea the nominal component of the predicate is expressed partly by the nominative, partly by an oblique case which in Baltic (and Slavic) is the instrumental.

Examples from Lithuanian: *jis yra/bus/buvo gydytojas/gydytoju* 'he is/will be/was a physician', *jis nori būti gydytoju* 'he wants to be

(become) a physician' : *jis tapo gydytoju* 'he became a physician', *jis dedasi/apsimeta gydytoju* 'he pretends to be a physician'. The use of the instrumental seems to be obligatory after other copulative verbs than *būti*, after which both the nominative and the instrumental are encountered. After the infinitive *būti* the instrumental prevails.

In the cases demonstrated so far, the nominal component of the predicate refers to the *subject*. This is also the case in *jis laikomas gydytoju* 'he is held/regarded to be a physician' and *jis buvo išrinktas prezidentu* 'he was elected president', but these expressions can be transformed into constructions like *jį laikė gydytoju, jį išrinko prezidentu* 'they regarded him as a physician (he was regarded as a physician)', 'they elected him president (he was elected president)' with an accusative object followed by a *predicative noun in the instrumental case referring to the object*. This *object predicative* after transitive verbs with the meanings 'elect, regard as' and the like can be expressed only by the instrumental, not by the accusative.

## III. The Adverbial Instrumental

The instrumental has a wide range of adverbial functions. The most important are:

a) that of the *instrument* (which has given rise to the name of the case):
*kirsti kirviu* 'to chop with (i.e. with the help of) an axe', *rašyti pieštuku* 'to write with a pencil', *važiuoti autobusu* 'to go by bus', *groti fleita* 'to play a flute',

b) the *way* in which an action is conducted:
*dainuoti sopranu* 'to sing soprano', *dirbti visomis jėgomis* 'to work with all one's strength' (more commonly, however, one would say: *iš visų jėgų*), *kalbėti bosu* 'to speak in a deep voice'

c) that of the *place*:
*eiti lauku/mišku* 'to cross the meadow/the forest', *keliauti oru/vandeniu* 'to travel through the air/the water'

d) that of the *cause* or *reason*:
*sirgti gripu* 'to be ill with/because of influenza', *mirti badu* 'to die of hunger'.

In functions b), c) and d) the connection with that of the instrument in a) is transparent. This meaning is less visible in:

e) certain expressions of *time* (cf. also the adverbial accusative above as well as p. 203 ff. below). Illustrations: *tuo metu/laiku* 'at that time' (with the shortened variant *tuomet*), with the plural: *šiais metais* '(in) this year' (*mẽtai* 'year' is a *plurale tantum*, cf. p. 51 f.), *kitais metais* 'next year' (alongside *kìtąmet*), *praėjusiais metais* 'last year'

(synonymous with *pernai*), *tai įvyko tūkstantis devyni šimtai devyniasdešimt pirmais metais* 'this happened in the year 1991', *šiomis dienomis* 'these days', *rytais* 'in the mornings', *vakarais* 'in the evenings'.

In some cases the instrumental can be replaced by the accusative. Thus, both *tuo kartu* and *tą kartą* '(at) that time' are possible. Doublets of the same kind are further *šiuo kartu : šį kartą* and *kitu kartu : kitą kartą*.

## The Agentive

On the borderline between an object and an adverbial is the *performer of an action* (or the agent/ive) in the passive voice. This function is expressed not by the instrumental as in Slavic, but by the genitive, see p. 186 above. The instrumental in this function is obsolete in Lithuanian, but is encountered in certain cases like, for instance, *kiemas aptvertas tvora* 'the yard is surrounded by a fence' in opposition to *kiemas apsuptas medžių* 'the yard is surrounded by trees' with the genitive. In the former construction *tvora* is felt more like an instrument ('with') than an (acting) agent.

Observe finally the corroborating function of *kuõ* before comparatives and superlatives: *kuo geriausias* 'the very best' For *kuõ - tuõ* 'the - the' , see p. 228.

# THE DATIVE

The dative is most frequently used with persons, to a lesser degreee with things. It has often the meaning of a logical subject. In a number of cases the dative is not necessary to obtain a correct grammatical construction, but its absence would modify the meaning.

## I. Adnominal Dative

### 1. The governing Word is a Noun

The dative case may be accompanied by *nouns* (in *-i/ymas* and others), corresponding to verbs requiring the dative (see below): *patarìmas kam* 'advice to sby', *padėkà kam* 'gratitude towards sby', *simpãtija kam* 'sympathy for sby'. The dative is also found with nouns derived from adjectives governing this case, e. g. *gabumai matematikai* 'talent for mathematics', as well as certain others, e. g. *meilė tėvynei* 'love for the fatherland'.

**2. The governing Word is an Adjective**

a) More typical, however, is the dative required by a number of *adjectives*, the most important being: *arti̇̃mas* 'close, near', *beñdras* 'common to', *gabùs* 'gifted/talented for', *lýgus* 'similar to, identical with', *míelas* 'dear', *naudìngas/reikalìngas* 'useful, necessary', *pavojìngas* 'dangerous', *pažįstamas* 'known', *príešingas* 'hostile', *tolýgus* 'equal', *skolìngas* 'indebted', *tiñkamas* 'fit for'.

Illustrations: *vertimas (yra) artimas originalui* 'the translation is close to the original', *ji (yra) gabi kalboms* 'she is talented for languages', *dukart du lygu* (neutral form) *keturiems* (or more common: *dukart du - keturi*) 'two times two is four', *visuomenei pavojingas* 'dangerous to society', *jis man skolingas 100 litų* 'he owes me 100 litas', *sėklos tinkamos sėjai* 'the seeds are fit for sowing'.

In most of these cases (as in the subsequent section with neuter form adjectives) the student will quite easily master the dative on the basis of the general meanings of this case. Exceptions are adjectives with the meaning of similarity and equality. They have parallels in many other Indo-European languages (cf., for example German *gleich mir* 'like me', Russian *ravno čemu-n.* 'like something').

b) The dative is further used with many adjectives in the *neuter* form (cf. also p. 68 f.). Illustrations: *man šalta/karšta* 'I feel cold/hot', *man lengva/sunku (kalbėti lietuviškai)* 'it is easy/difficult for me (to speak Lithuanian)', *man smagu* 'it is pleasant for me (it is a pleasure for me)', *man patogu* 'it is convenient for me', *man įdomu* 'it is interesting for me', *man nuobodu* 'I am bored', *man liūdna (girdėti), kad* 'I am/feel sorry (to hear) that'. Although historically nouns, *gėda* and *gaila* can also be mentioned here: *man gėda* 'I am/feel ashamed', *man gaila jo* 'I feel sorry for him' (observe the genitive required after *gaila*).

**3. The Dative of Age**

Finally, mention should be made of the *dative of age*: *Kiek Jums metų?* 'How old are you?'. *Man penkiasdešimt metų* 'I am 50 years old'.

## II. Adverbal Dative

### 1. Dative + Accusative

The dative is used in the function of an *indirect* object referring to the person or *addressee* with *transitive* verbs accompanied by a *direct* accusative object, for example: *duoti/rašyti/(pa)sakyti/siųsti* etc. *kam* (dative) *ką* (acc.) 'to give/write/say/send sth to sby', cf. also the well known German formula *einem etwas geben* etc. Reference should also be made to the accusative above.

### 2. Dative as the only Object

A group of *intransitive* verbs known in grammatical terminology as *verba commodi et incommodi*, i. e. verbs denoting 'to somebody's benefit or disadvantage', require a dative object as the *only* object. The following lists of verbs can be given:

A. *Verba commodi:*

*atléisti* 'forgive', *dėkóti* 'to thank', *padẽti/pagélbėti* 'to help', *patìkti* 'to please', *pritarti* 'to approve', *simpatizúoti* 'to sympathize with', *tarnáuti* 'to serve'.

Illustrations: *atleiskite man* 'forgive me', *aš padėjau broliui* 'I helped my brother', *autorius jai simpatizuoja* 'the author has sympathy with her'.

The construction with *patìikti* should be specially noted since the verb is always in the 3rd person, e. g. *man/tau/jam/jai/mums/jums/jiems/joms patinka arbata/paveikslai* 'I/you/he/she/we/they like tea/the paintings' (with *arbata/paveikslai* in the nominative in the function of grammatical subject, cf. German *mir gefällt der Tee/mir gefallen die Bilder* or Russian *mne nravitsja čaj/mne nravjatsja kartiny* construed according to the same model).

B. *Verba incommodi*:

*grasìnti* 'to threaten', *(pa)keñkti* (dial.) 'to hurt, cause damage to', *pavydẽti* 'to envy', *prieštaráuti* 'to contradict; to object to; to defy'.

Examples: *negrasinkite man* 'don't threaten me', *jis pavydi draugui laimės* (gen.) 'he envies his friend his luck', *liudytojų parodymai prieštarauja vienas kitam* 'the statements of the witnesses contradict one another'.

Further mention should be made of some additional dative-governing verbs which are not so easy to incorporate in the framework of the *verba commodi et incommodi*. Here belong verbs like *atsakýti kam* 'to answer sby', *atstováuti kam* 'to represent sby/sth', *priklausýti kam* 'belong to sby' and *ruõštis kam* 'to prepare for sth'.

Examples: *ji man atsakė, kad* 'she answered me that', *jie atstovauja lietuvių tautai* 'they represent the Lithuanian people', *ji ruošiasi egzaminui* 'she is preparing for the exam', *viskas priklauso mums* 'everything belongs to us', cf. German *alles gehört uns*, Russian *vsë prinadležit nam*. Observe that the verb *atitìkti* 'to correspond to, satisfy' does not take the dative, but the accusative: *atitikti tikrovę* 'to correspond to the facts'.

**3. Dative in Impersonal Constructions**

Important is also the dative with certain verbs in *impersonal constructions*, i. e. constructions without a grammatical nominative subject (cf. p. 220). Here belong the (reflexive and non-reflexive) verbs *atródyti/ródytis* 'to seem', *reikẽti* 'to have to; to need', *sèktis* 'to succeed', *skaudẽti* 'to hurt' *trū̃kti* 'to be lacking', and *tèkti* 'to have to'.

Illustrations: *man atrodo/rodos, kad* 'it seems to me that', *ko* (gen.) *jums reikia?* 'what do you want?', *man reikia eiti* 'I have to go/leave', *man trūksta pinigų* (gen.) 'I am in lack of money', *jai visada sekasi* 'she is always fortunate', *man skauda galvą* (accusative) 'I have a headache', *mums teko stovėti* 'we had to stand'.

In this place it also seems practical to put the *dative* of adjectival words, e. g. *uolùs* 'diligent', *atidùs* 'attentive') *after a copulative verb in the infinitive* in constructions of the following type:

*studentams reikia būti uoliems* 'the students have to be diligent', *jam reikia būti vienam* 'he has to be alone'. The predicative adjective agrees with the logical subject (*studentams; jam*) not only in gender and number, but also in case. In general statements the logical subject is deleted, but the dative of the predicative adjective must be retained - preferably in the unmarked masc. sg. form: *reikia būti atidžiam* 'one has to be attentive', but also *reikia būti atidiems/atidžioms* (masc./fem. pl.) is heard.

**4. Dative + Infinitive**

Finally, mention should be made of the *dative + infinitive* construction in (direct and indirect) questions (cf. p. 221). Examples: *ką man (pa)daryti?* 'what shall I do?', *kur mums eiti?* 'where shall we go?', *jis paklausė, kur mums eiti* 'he asked where we should go'.

Here mention can also be made of the type *man nėra kur eiti* 'I have nowhere to go'.

## III. Adverbial Dative

Candidates for this function are:

a) the *dative of time* which can be used after verbs like *sustoti/stabtelėti* 'to stop': *aš stabtelėjau sekundei* 'I stopped for a second', but not with verbs denoting a longer duration, such as *stovėti* 'to stand' or *būti* 'to be';

b) the dative of *intent and purpose*, cf. for example *šepetys batams valyti* 'a brush for cleaning the boots' in contrast to, for example, *aš gavau nurodymą* (acc.) *valyti batus* 'I have got an order to clean the shoes' and *aš neturiu dantų riešutams krimsti* 'I haven't got teeth for eating nuts' vs. *aš neturiu laiko riešutus* (acc.) *krimsti* 'I have no time for eating nuts'.

## Dative with Gerunds

For this so-called *absolute dative*, see p. 155 f.

# THE LOCATIVE

The Lithuanian locative can never be governed by a preposition. The historical reason for this is that the locative marker reflects the merger of a regular case ending with a *postposition* (cf. p. 38).

The locative of Lithuanian has both the adnominal, adverbal and adverbial functions with the latter as the overwhelmingly dominant one.

As examples of the *adnominal* and *adverbal* functions respectively may serve: *dalyvavimas kame* 'participation in sth' and *dalyváuti kame* 'participate in sth'.

The *adverbial* functions of the locative are:

a) that of *place* (which has given name to the case),

b) that of *time*.

Examples of a) are: *butelyje* 'in the bottle', *gatvėje* 'in the street', *kišenėje* 'in the pocket', *lovoje* 'in (the) bed', *name* 'in the house', *bibliotekoje* 'in the library', *universitete* 'at the university', *mokykloje* 'at school', *mieste* 'in the town/city', *miške* 'in the forest', *kelionėje* 'on the way (= unterwegs)', *kautynėse* 'in the battle(s)'.

Observe that as a rule of thumb the 'in'-dimension is rendered by the locative whereas the 'on'-dimension is expressed through the preposition *ant* 'on' + the genitive (e. g. *ant stalo* 'on the table'), cf. further *lovoje* 'in the bed' vs. *ant lovos* 'on the bed'. The relation between the *in-* and the *on*-dimension, however, is not always as simple and clearcut as in the examples just referred to and may cause some trouble to the student. Cases like *žirge* 'on the horse', *stale* 'on the table' encountered in folk songs (the *dainos*) are in the modern Standard

language replaced by the preposition *añt* + the genitive. In *lauke* 'outdoors' a near to full adverbialization is observed.

As illustrations of b) may serve: *ateityje* 'in the future', *dabartyje* 'at present', *praeityje* 'in the past', *senovėje* 'in the old days; in ancient times', *vidurdieny(je)* 'at noon', *vidurvasary(je)* 'in the middle of the summer' ('in the summer', however, must be rendered by *vasarą*, see p. 188 and 204).

Under b) mention may also be made of ceremonial *pluralia tantum* (p. 51) like *vestuvėse* 'at the wedding (party)', *laidotuvėse* 'at the funeral', *krikštynose* 'at the baptism'.

## THE NOMINATIVE

The nominative case of Lithuanian has three main functions:

1) as *grammatical subject* in *two part sentences* (see p. 218 f.) which can be in the *active* or *passive* voice (p. 139 ff.), e. g. *vaikas piešia (šunį)* 'the child is drawing (a dog)' and *namas (yra) statomas* 'the house is being built';

2) as the *only principal member* in so-called *nominative* one part sentences (p. 221 f.) , e. g. *vakaras* '(it is) evening', and

3) as part of the *nominal predicate* (p. 211), i. e. in the form of a *nominal wordclass* (i. e. noun, adjective, pronoun, numeral) after a *copulative* verb (p. 211), e. g. *jis (yra) vaikas* 'he is a child', *jis yra jaunas* 'he is young'.

In function 3) the nominative overlaps with the instrumental case. For distributional criteria, see p. 190.

In connection with 3) mention may also be made of the nominative after *kaip* 'as' in constructions of the type *jis yra žinomas kaip labai įdomus rašytojas* 'he is known as a very interesting writer'.

A last, but marginal function of the nominative is encountered in certain *appositions* (see p. 216 and 235), e. g. *straipsnyje "Trečias frontas"* 'in the article "The third Front".

The nominative can also function as an adverbial of time, cf. for example, [...] *ugnis šviečia diena naktis* (Maironis) '[...] the fire is burning day and night', but such constructions are now felt to be somewhat obsolete. Observe the type *kas 5 metai* 'every 5 years'.

## THE VOCATIVE

The vocative is the case of *address*.

Examples: *Mielas* (or: *mielasis*) *tėve/tėvai* 'dear father', *miela* (or: *mieloji*) *mama* 'dear mother', *mieli(eji) tėvai* 'dear parents'. Note that the noun *ponas* 'Mr., Sir' is not used in the vocative. Thus, one will say, for example *Ponas Girdeni!* 'Mr. Girdenis!'.

As mentioned (pp. 38 and 41 above) and demonstrated through the examples just given the vocative has a form of its own only in the singular. In the plural it is always identical in form with the nominative.

Only nouns, not adjectives (or pronouns), have a specific vocative form (unless they are substantivized as for instance in *o, vargai* 'o, (you) poor' (in folksongs also *o, varge*).

# Chapter 9

# PREPOSITIONS

*(Príelinksniai)*

This is a natural continuation of the immediately preceding chapter *Case* which we found convenient to reserve almost exclusively for non-prepositional usage even though a full description of case should include prepositions as well. The purpose of this chapter on the prepositions is to give a brief survey of the prepositions most commonly encountered in contemporary Standard Lithuanian with information on the case(s) required after them as well as their meanings presented in simple, illustrative examples. A less practically orientated grammar should in addition have paid attention to a number of theoretical, semantic and grammatical aspects concerning prepositions and case grammar.

In certain cases *prepositions* and *adverbs* (for example *artì* 'near' and *žemiaũ* 'under, below') show the same form in Lithuanian, cf. the chapter on adverbs. The same phenomenon can be observed in many other IE languages as well (for instance in Slavic and Germanic).

A similar overlapping also exists between certain *prepositions* and *prefixes* (cf. for example *į, iš : į-, iš-*); in other cases there are divergences as illustrated by *su* (preposition and preverb) : *są/san/sam-* (nominal prefix) whereas in still other cases there is no (formal) connection between preposition and prefix at all, cf. p. 169 f. above.

Some prepositions represent petrified nouns (as for example *anàpus* 'on the other side' which consists of the pronominal stem *an-* + the noun *pùs-ė* 'side', which explains that this preposition governs the genitive (from a historical point of view this is an adnominal genitive, see the preceding chapter).

From the point of view of their origin a preposition like *anàpus* is *secondary* in contrast with, for example, *põ* which can be labeled *primary*.

The accusative, genitive, instrumental and marginally the dative can be governed by prepositions in Lihuanian, whereas the locative - and, of course, the nominative and the vocative - cannot. Genetically

speaking, cases like the locative and the marginally used illative (see p. 18) have an "imbedded" postposition.

Lithuanian prepositions are as a rule preposited. Only some very few are either preposited or postposited. One (*dėkà*) is always postposited and hence sensu strictu a postposition even though it is treated under the same heading as the prepositions.

Prepositions can be grouped according to their meanings. Thus, prepositions 1) of *place*, 2) of *time*, 3) *purpose*, 4) *comparison*, 5) *cause* and 6) others can be distinguished.

### 1. Prepositions of Place

*a) non-directional:*

*añt* (+ genitive) 'on': *Ant stalo guli knyga* 'there is a book on the table'

*viřš* (+ genitive) 'over': *Virš lovos kabo lempa* 'a lamp is hanging over the bed'

*aukščiaũ* (+ genitive) 'above': *aukščiau jūros lygio* 'above sea level'

*põ* (+ instrumental) 'under': *šuo guli po stalu* 'the dog is lying under the table'. After verbs of motion this preposition can also be directional, still requiring the instrumental.

*ùž* (+genitive) 'behind': *Jie stovi už garažo* 'they are standing behind the garage'. This preposition can also be directional (after verbs of motion), but will still govern the genitive.

*priẽš* (+ accusative) 'before, in front of': *jie stovi prieš garažą* 'they are standing in front of the garage'

*priẽ* (+ genitive) 'at, by': *Kėdė stovi prie stalo* 'the chair is standing by the table', *Frankfurtas prie Maino* 'Frankfurt upon Main', *prie manęs* 'in my presence'

*šalià* (+ genitive) 'at, by, next to': *Kėdė stovi šalia stalo* 'the chair is standing by/next to the table'.

*tiẽs* (+ instrumental) 'at, by': *Kėdė stovi ties stalu* 'the chair is standing by the table'

*pàs* (+ accusative) 'at somebody's place; with somebody' : *jis yra/gyvena pas mus* 'he is/(staying)/living with us'

*anàpus* (+ genitive) 'on the other side': *anapus upės* 'on the other side of the river'

*abìpus* (+ genitive) 'on both sides of': *abipus upės* 'on both sides of the river'

*netolì* (+ genitive) 'not far from, near': *netoli centro* 'not far from the center'

*tarp* (+ genitive) 'between; among': *ryšiai tarp Lietuvos ir Norvegijos* 'the ties (connections) between Lithuania and Norway'.

*b) directional:*
*į* (+ accusative) 'to, into, onto the top': *važiuoti į Vilnių* 'to go to Vilnius'; *įėjome į kambarį* 'we went into the room'; *sunku kopti į aukštą kalną* 'it is heavy (difficult) to climb into/onto/up (to) a high hill'
*pàs* (+ accusative) 'to' (about persons and animals): *ji atėjo pas mus* 'she came to us'
*nuõ* (+ genitive) 'down (from)': *nukristi nuo stogo* 'to fall down from the roof'; *ji gavo laišką nuo manęs* 'she got a letter from me'
*iš* (+ genitive) 'from, out of': *atvykti iš Rygos/iš Latvijos* 'to come/arrive from Riga/from Latvia', *išimti iš kišenės* 'to take out from the pocket'.
Here a couple of double prepositions (equally with the genitive) can also be mentioned: *iš põ* 'from below'(e.g. *iš po stalo* 'from below/under the table') and *iš ùž* 'from behind' (*iš už debesų* 'from behind the clouds') .
*apiẽ/apliñk* (+ accusative) 'around': *Apėjau apie/aplink namą* 'I went around the house'
*põ* (+ accusative) 'in, about': *vaikščioti po kambarį/laukus* 'walk about the room/in the fields'
*prõ* (+ accusative) 1) 'past', 2) 'through': 1) *Mašina važiuoja pro paštą* 'the car is driving past/passing by the post office', 2) *pro langą/skylę* 'through the window/the hole'
*peř* (+ accusative) 1) 'across', 2) 'over', 3) 'via': 1) *Vaikai bėga per gatvę* 'the children are running across the street', 2) *Jie peršoko per tvorą* 'they jumped over (across) the fence', 3) *vykti per Kopenhagą* 'to go via Copenhagen'
*paleĩ* (+ accusative) 'along': *eiti palei krantą* 'to walk along the shore'.

**2. Prepositions of Time**
*põ* (+ genitive) 'after, in': *Tėvas sugrįžo po savaitės/jis sugrįš po minutės* 'the father returned after a week/he will be back in a minute'
*priẽš* (+ accusative) 1) 'before', 2) 'ago': 1) *prieš pietus/karą* 'before dinner/the war', 2) *prieš dvejus metus* 'two years ago'
*nuõ/iš* (+ genitive)'from': *Jis nuo vaikystės mėgsta piešti* 'he has

liked painting from (since) his childhood'; *Lagaminą susikroviau iš vakaro* 'I packed my suitcase from the evening'
*į̃* (+accusative) 'by, towards': *į vakarą pradėjo lyti* 'towards the evening it started raining'
*apiẽ/į* (+ accusative) 'about, around': *Susitarėme susitikti apie/į penktą valandą* 'we agreed to meet about five o'clock'
*ikì /lìgi* (+ genitive) 'till, until': *Darbą reikia užbaigti iki/ligi sekmadienio* 'the work has to be finished by Sunday'. *Note* that in a couple of fixed expressions the dative case is used after *iki*: *iki šiai dienai* (alongside the genitive construction *iki šios dienos*) 'up to this day'.

**3. Prepositions of Purpose**
*ùž/į̃* (+ accusative) 'for': *mirti už laisvę* 'to die for freedom'; *pasiprašiau į nakvynę* 'I asked for (the possibility of) lodging for the night'; *mokėti(s) už ką* 'to pay for something (as repayment for)'.

**4. Prepositions of Comparison**
*ùž* (+ accusative) 'than' : *Brolis (yra) vyresnis už seserį* 'the brother is older than his sister' (or by way of alternative the *conjunction negù* + the nominative: *Brolis (yra) vyresnis negu sesuo*).

**5. Prepositions of Cause**
*dẽl* (+ genitive) 'because of': *Nesijaudink dėl smulkmenų* 'don't worry because of trifles', *dėl tavęs* 'because of you'
*nuõ* (+ genitive) 'from, of, with': *žmogus mirė nuo vėžio* (or more frequently instr. without preposition: *mirė vėžiu*) 'the man died of cancer'
*ìš* (+ genitive) 'from, of, with': *Iš džiaugsmo plyšo širdis* '(my) heart burst from joy'
*dėkà* (+ genitive), postposition 'thanks to (about a person)': *Tik tavo dėka jis gerai gyvena* 'only thanks to you is he getting on well'.

**6. Prepositions of other Meanings**
*sù* (+ instrumental) 'with': *šiandien mes pietavome su draugais* 'to day we had dinner with friends', *su ašaromis akyse* 'with tears in the eyes', *vyras su ūsais* 'a man with a moustache', *plauti su muilu* 'wash with soap', *rašyti su pieštuku* 'to write with a pencil' (the two last mentioned examples frequently also with instrumental without a preposition: *rašyti pieštuku, plauti muilu*).

Note the idiomatic expressions: *dirbti su knyga* 'to work on a book', *tėvas su sūnumi* 'father and son'

*bè* (+ genitive) 'without; in addition to': *šiandien aš pietavau vienas, be draugų* 'Today I had dinner alone, without friends'; *Be knygų, ten yra dar laikraščių* 'in addition to books, there are newspapers there, too'

*ìš* (+ genitive) 1) 'from' (indicating source): *Knygą pasiskolinau iš draugo* 'I have borrowed the book from a friend'; 2) 'of' (material): *iš plieno* 'of steel'

*pagal̃* (+ accusative) 'according to': *pagal susitarimą* 'according to the agreement'

*apiẽ* (+ accusative) 'about; approximately': *kalbėti/galvoti apie ką nors* 'to speak/think about something'; *apie tris šimtus* 'about (approximately) three hundred'

*priẽš* (+ accusative) 'against': *kovoti prieš ką nors* 'to fight against sby'

*põ* (+ accusative) in distributive function: *po penkis litus kiekvienas* 'five litas each'.

Finally, mention should be made of *išskýrus* (or *ìšskiriant*) 'except (for)' which as its English equivalent is in fact a petrified participle (to the verb *išskìrti*), but behaves like a preposition (requiring the accusative), e. g. *išskyrus vienaskaitos įnagininką* [...] 'except for the instrumental singular'.

**Summing up**

Lithuanian prepositions as a rule govern only one case (most frequently genitive or accusative). The sole exceptions are *ùž* which can be combined with two cases (the accusative and the genitive) and *põ* which can be followed by the following three: the accusative, the genitive and the instrumental. Double prepositions like, for example, *iš põ* always require the genitive case.

There is one obligatory postposition (*dėkà*).

# Chapter 10

# TIME EXPRESSIONS

In the two preceding chapters some expressions of time have been included. Some relevant expressions are mentioned also in the chapter on numerals. It seems, however, practical to concentrate such expressions in one place, which further has the advantage of allowing a more detailed and lucid presentation.

## 1. The 24 Hour Cycle

in the morning/in the evening - *rýtą/vakarè*
in the mornings/in the evenings - *rytaĩs, vakaraĩs*
during the day - *diẽną*
during the night - *nãktį*
during the nights - *naktimìs*
yesterday morning/evening - *vãkar rýtą/vãkar vakarè*
this morning/evening - *šį rýtą/šį vãkarą*
today/tonight - *šiañdien/šįvãkar*
to-morrow - *rytój*
to-morrow morning/night - *rytój rýtą/rytój vakarè*
the day before yesterday - *ùžvakar*
the day after to-morrow - *porýt*
early in the morning - *ankstì rýtą*
late in the evening - *vėlaĩ vakarè*
the night from Sunday to Monday - *nãktį iš sekmãdienio į pirmãdienį*

## 2. Hours

it is 1 (2, 5) o'clock - *dabaĩ pirmà/antrà valandà/penktà valandà* (nominative!)
it is ten to two - *dabaĩ bè dẽšimt(iẽs) antrà valandà*
it is ten past eight - *dabaĩ dẽšimt põ antrõs (valandõs)*
it is half past eight - *dabaĩ pùsė(*or: *pùsę) devintõs*
(arrive) at 1 (2, 5) o'clock - *(atvykti) pìrmą/añtrą/peñktą vãlandą* (accusative to answer question 'when?')

(arrive) at half past eight - *(atvỹkti) pùsė devintõs*

**3. The Days of the Week**
on Monday etc. - *pirmãdienį*
on Mondays - *pirmãdieniais*
in (during) this week - *šią saváitę*
next week - *kìtą saváitę*
last week - *praẽjusią saváitę*

**4. The Month(s)**
in January etc. - *saũsio mẽnesį*

**5. The Seasons of the Year**
during (in) the spring - *pavãsarį*
this/last/next spring - *praẽjusį pavãsarį/kìtą pavãsarį/šìtą pavãsarį*
during (in) the summer - *vãsarą*
during (in) the autumn - *rùdenį*
during (in) the winter - *žiẽmą*

**6. The Year**
in this year/last year/next year - *šiaĩs/praẽjusiais/kitaĩs mẽtais*
in the twenties - *dvidešimtaĩsiais mẽtais* (calque from Russian)
or: *trečiãjame dešimtmetyje*

**7. Century**
in this century - *šiamè ámžiuje*

**8. Dates**
today is September 10, 1994 - *šiañdien yrà tū́kstantis devynì šimtaĩ devýniasdešimt ketvirtų̃ mẽtų rugsė́jo (mẽnesio) dešimtà (dienà)*. Observe the nominative case.
on September 10, 1994 - *tū́kstantis devynì šimtaĩ devýniasdešimt ketvirtų̃ mẽtų rugsė́jo (mẽnesio) dešimtą̃ (diẽną)*. Observe the accusative case (question 'when?')

**9. Undetermined Time Expressions**
locative:
in childhood/youth/old age: *vaikỹstėje/jaunỹstėje/senãtvėje*

**10. How long? How often?**
Accusative without preposition:

*Jis (pra)buvo/praleido saváitę/penkiàs dienàs Londone* 'he stayed in London for a week'
*Vakar jie vìsą diẽną dirbo namie* 'yesterday they worked at home (for) the whole day'
*Ji važiuoja į kaimą kiekvíeną saváitę* or: *kàs saváitę* 'she leaves for the countryside every week'
*Ji važiuoja į kaimą kiekvíeną añtrą saváitę* or: *kàs añtrą saváitę* 'she leaves for the countryside every second week'
twice a week (two times *per* week) - *dù kartùs peř saváitę*

**11. For how long?**
Dative without preposition:
*jie nuvažiavo (į kaimą) saváitei/mẽtams* 'they left (for the countryside) for a week'

**12. Before/after**
a) 'Before':
*ìki/lìg(i)* + the genitive:
before the war - *ikì/lìgi kãro*
by 3 o'clock - *ikì trijų̃*
*priẽš* + the genitive:
before 3 o'clock - *priẽš trìs (vãlandas)*

b) 'after':
*põ* + the genitive:
after 3 o'clock - *po trijų̃ (valandų̃)*
after the war - *po kãro*

Notice:
'so and so long before/after' is expressed with *priẽš* (+ acc.)/*põ* (+ gen.):
we came here some minutes before/after you - *mes čia atėjome kelios minutės prieš tave/po tavęs*

**13. From - to (till):**
*nuõ* (+ gen.) - *ikì/lìg(i)* (+ gen.)
from spring till winter - *nuõ pavãsario ikì žiemõs*
from morning till night - *nuõ rýto ikì vãkaro*
from childhood to old days - *nuõ vaikỹstės ikì senãtvės*

**14. During**
a) see under 1 above
b) during the early hours of Sunday morning - *nãktį į sekmãdienį*
c) during (in) the years 1945-1991: *tū́kstantis devynì šimtaĩ kẽturiasdešimt penktaĩs - tū́kstantis devynì šimtaĩ devýnias dešimt pirmaĩs mẽtais* (instrumental) or: *nuõ tū́kstantis devynì šimtaĩ kẽturiasdešimt penktū̃jų ìki tū́kstantis devynì šimtaĩ devýniasdešimt pirmū̃jų*
d) during (= in the period of) Vytautas the Great - *Vytauto Didžiojo laikais* (genitive + instrumental) or: *Vytauto Didžiojo valdymo metu.* Also a construction with *priẽ* (+ genitive) is possible (although somewhat obsolete and regarded as a calque from Russian): *prie Vytauto Didžiojo.*

**15. In (after):**
*põ* (or: *ùž*) + the genitive:
in five days - *po (už) penkiū̃ dienū̃*

**16. In (so and so long a time):**
*peř* + the accusative:
*Ji parašo laišką per víeną vãlandą* 'she wrote the letter in one hour'

**17. Towards**
*į* + the accusative:
towards the evening - *į vãkarą*

# Chapter 11

# CONJUNCTIONS

*(Jungtùkai)*

In this chapter we will just list the most important conjunctions of Standard Lithuanian and their English equivalents. Some of the (coordinate) conjunctions are capable only of uniting words (or word groups), not sentences whereas others can do both.

For the *use* of conjunctions, see the chapter on compound sentences.

It is customary to distinguish between *coordinate* and *subordinate* conjunctions.

## 1. Coordinate

Coordinate conjunctions are divided into the following groups: A. *copulative,* B. *adversative* and C. *disjunctive*:

A. *Copulative:*

*ir̃* 'and'
*ir̃ - ir̃* 'both - and'
*bẽi* 'and' (for uniting two words only): *Aušra bei Rytis* 'A. and R.'
*čià - čià* 'now - now, sometimes - sometimes'
*čià víena, čià kìta* 'at one moment - at another'
*taĩ - taĩ* 'now - now'
*neĩ - neĩ* 'neither - nor'

B. *Adversative:*

*bèt* 'but':

C. *Disjunctive:*

*ar̃* 'or'

## 2. Subordinate

Subordinate conjunctions can be classified according to the following two main groups:

A. *Explicative:*

*kàd* 'that',
*jóg* 'that',
*ar̃* 'if, whether'

B. *Adverbial*

This group has numerous subclasses. The most important are: *conjunctions of time, of purpose, of result, of reason,* and *conditional, concessive, comparative conjunctions:*

*a) Conjunctions of time:*
*kaĩ* 'when'
*kàd(à)* 'when'
*kõl* 'while'
*ikì* and *lìg(i)* 'till, until'
*võs (tìk)* or *tìk* 'as soon as, no sooner than'

*b) Conjunctions of purpose:*
*kàd* 'in order that'.
There is one more conjunction in this group, namely *idañt* which is bookish in contrast to the stylistically neutral *kad.*

*c) Conjunctions of result:*
*(taĩp ...), kàd* '(so ...) that'

*d) Conjunctions of reason:*
*nès* 'because, since, as'
*kadángi* 'because, since, as'
A third conjunction of reason is the compound *dėl tõ kàd* with approximately the same meaning as the preceding two.

*e) Conditional:*
*jéi(gu)* 'if'.
Also the conjunction *kàd* can have conditional meaning.

*f) Concessive:*
The most important are:
*nórs* 'even though, even if'
*nórs - tačiaũ* 'even though - nevertheless'
and
*tegùl* 'even if'
The multifunctional conjunction *kàd* - usually in the expanded form *kad ir* - can also be used in this function.

*g) Comparative:*
*kaĩp* 'as'
*lýg* 'as'
These are the most frequently used conjunctions for non-hypothetical comparisons.
*taĩ(ý)tum* 'as if'
*taĩsi* 'as if'
*ìt* 'as if'
In hypothetical function one of these conjunctions must be used.

# Chapter 12

# THE SENTENCE

*(Sakinỹs)*

## Definition

A sentence can be defined as a *prosodically complete speech unit of a specific structure expressing a relatively complete thought.* This is only one of many possible definitions of the notion "sentence". It is binary in the de Saussurian sense that it focuses both on the *formal* side and on that of the *content.*

## THE MEMBERS OF THE SENTENCE

The Lithuanian sentence can have the following members: the *subject* (veiksnỹs) and the *predicate* (tarinỹs) which are labeled the *principal* members of the sentence in contrast to the *object* (papildinỹs) and the *adverbial* (aplinkýbė) which constitute the *dependent* members of the sentence. Some grammarians also include the *attribute* (pažyminỹs) and the *apposition* (príedėlis) in the class of (dependent) sentence members.

## The Principal Members of the Sentence

### The Subject
*(Veiksnỹs)*

Here we have in mind the *grammatical subject* which is most frequently expressed by a noun or a pronoun in the *nominative* case. It can also be expressed by a nominal form of the verb, i. e. the infinitive. For examples, see under predicate below. In one-part sentences (for definition, see p. 219) there is no grammatical subject.

**Deletion of 3rd p. Subject Pronoun**

The personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons are usually deleted in subject position when they are not emphasized:

*Rytais paprastai atvažiuoju į darbą 8 valandą* 'In the mornings as a rule I arrive at work at 8 o'clock'; - *Kaip gyvuojate?* 'How are you getting on?' - *Ačiū, gerai, o Jūs* (emphasized) *kaip gyvuojate?* 'thanks fine, and you - how are you getting on?'

## The Predicate

*(Tarinỹs)*

The predicate may be of two kinds: *verbal* and *nominal*. This holds good both for two-part and one-part sentences (on which terms see next chapter).

1) A *verbal predicate* is expressed by a *finite* form (definition on p. 93) of a non-copulative verb. It can be *simple* (e. g. *studentas rašo* 'the student is writing'; *temsta* 'it is getting dark') or *compound* (e. g. *jis pradėjo rašyti* 'he began writing', *ji nori/moka rašyti* 'she wants to/can write', *pradėjo temti* 'it began getting dark'). As illustrated through these examples a compound predicate consists of an auxiliary verb (phasal or modal) in a finite form + an infinitive (in rare cases a participle).

2) A *nominal predicate* consists of a *copulative* verb (i. e. verbs with the meanings of 'be' and 'become') + a *nominal part* which may be either a noun, an adjective or a pronoun: *(aš) esu mokytojas* 'I am a teacher', *jis (yra) mokytojas* 'he is a teacher', *ji tapo mokytoja* 'she became a teacher', *ji (yra) jauna* 'she is young', *jie buvo vieni* 'they were alone', *vakaras* '(It is) evening', *(yra) sunku* 'it is difficult', *dirbti žmogui (yra) sveika* 'to work is healthy for man'.

A somewhat rare synonym of *yrà* is *ẽsti* which can also be used in the same meaning as *bū̃na* 'is/are usually'. Unlike *būn-*, however, *esti* is restricted to the third person.

A nominal predicate is compound *per definitionem*. An example of a *complex* nominal predicate would be: *jis nori būti mokytoju* 'he wants to be (become) a teacher'. For the case of the nominal part, see chapter on case, s. v. the nominative and instrumental.

Observe that the compound tenses expressed through a copulative verb + the main verb in the form of a participle are regarded as verbal: *ji yra parašiusi laišką* 'she has read the letter'. The same is the case with passive constructions: *namas buvo pastatytas pernai* 'the house was built last year'.

*Hybrids* between verbal and nominal predicates are seen in cases like *gandras parlėkė linksmas,* lit. 'the stork came flying happy'. This implies both that the stork came (flying) and that it was happy. The nominal part *linksmas* has a double reference, both to the subject and to the verb. The non-copulative verb *parlėkti* obtains a semantically attenuated character when followed by an adjective and may in this distribution be said to function as a kind of *copula.* Like *parlėkti* can behave also other verbs of motion (including *grįžti* 'return') and further the verbs *sėdėti* 'sit', *stovėti* 'stand' and *gulėti* 'lie'. The Lithuanian term used for such predicates (or rather their nominal part) is *tarinio pažyminys* 'predicative attribute'. It may at times be difficult to decide whether a *tarinio pažyminys* or an adverb should be used.

**Deletion of Copulative Verb**

The copulative verb of the 3rd person can be deleted, e. g. *vaikas (yra) sveikas* 'the child is healthy', *vaikai (yra) sveiki* 'the children are healthy', *jis (yra) mokytojas* 'he is a teacher'.

In written exposition a *dash* (brūkšnėlis) is frequently inserted instead of the copula, especially in cases where both the subject and the nominal part of the predicate are nouns: *Vytautas - mokytojas* 'Vytautas is a teacher'. The same holds good if the subject is expressed by an infinitive: *Vadovėlio tikslas - plėsti žodyną* 'the purpose of the handbook is to extend the vocabulary'.

In expressions of a *general* kind, *definitions* and so-called *eternal truths*, *yra* is not deleted, e. g. *žmogus yra mirtingas* 'man is mortal', *Lietuva yra respublika* 'Lithuania is a republic', *liūtas yra žinduolis* 'the lion is a mammal'.

The copulative verb of other persons than the third is not deleted.

Finally it should be mentioned that the copulative verb can be deleted only in the present tense. In other tenses it must be explicitly expressed: *kada aš buvau vaikas* 'when I was a child'.

**The Syntactic Relationship between Subject and Predicate. The Nature of the Predicate**

The *syntactic relationship between the subject and the predicate* as main members of the sentence, is one not of dependency; but of *interdependency.*

The predicate may be conceived as the central *member* of the sentence, first, since in one-part sentences (see p. 218 ff.) the main sentence member may be identified as a predicate, and, second, since the dependent sentence members (objects and adverbials) are immediately dependent on the predicate (and not on the subject).

# The Dependent Members of the Sentence

As demonstrated through examples under the main members of the sentence above (as well as in the table on basic sentence patterns, next chapter) complete sentences can consist only of a subject and a predicate in two-part sentences and in one-part sentences (p. 219 ff.) of a predicate alone. However, both two-part and one-part sentences can be *extended* by dependent sentence members, namely the *object* and the *adverbial.*

## The Object
*(Papildinỹs)*

Like the subject, the object is usually expressed through one of the nominal word classes, noun or pronoun, but - unlike the subject - it must be in a dependent, i. e. non-nominative, case. Like the subject it can also be in the form of an infinitive. Examples: *Regina skaito knygą* 'Regina is reading a book', *Regina ją skaito* 'Regina is reading it (i. e. the book)', *Regina mėgsta skaityti* 'Regina likes reading'.

A distinction is made between the *direct* object in the accusative case after *transitive* verbs (p. 148 f. on transitivity and p. 139 ff. on voice) and the *indirect* with *intransitive* verbs, i. e. verbs requiring other dependent cases than the accusative. Example of an indirect object: *tėvas giriasi sūnumi* (instr.) 'the father is proud of his son'.

The question whether the genitive with negation or the partitive genitive in connection with transitive verbs should be labeled a direct or indirect object seems to be a kind of grammatical grey zone. For examples, see chapter on case.

Dependent on the case one can speak of *accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental* and *locative objects.*

An object (in the accusative, genitive, dative and instrumental) expressed through a prepositional phrase is called a *prepositional* object. An example of this would be: *nuo ko* (gen.) *priklauso Lietuvos gamyba?* 'what does the Lithuanian industry depend on?'

Finally it should be mentioned that some predicates can or must be combined with more than one object whereby a frequent combination is that of an indirect (dative) object denoting a person and a direct (accusative) object for the thing: *jis jai davė/nupirko žiedą* 'he gave/bought her a ring'.

The type of subordination with objects is determined by *government.*

Government (Lith. *valdymas*) is (together with agreement /cf. p. 230 ff./ and adjunction /cf. under adverbial below/) one of the three *ways* of expressing *subordination* in Lithuanian. The formal *means* for expressing subordination are inflection and inflection together with prepositions. Government implies that one morpheme *x* presupposes another *y* in the utterance (sentence), but not the other way round (i. e. *y* does not presuppose *x*). Thus, *books* in *read books/they read books* offers an example of government. The governing word (head) is most frequently a verb, but can also be a preposition, a noun, an adjective, a numeral or another quantifier.

## The Adverbial
*(Aplinkýbė)*

The adverbial can be expressed by an adverb or - like the object - by a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase. Examples: *Jie ilgai gyveno užsienyje* 'they lived abroad for a long time', *jie ilgą laiką gyveno užsienyje* 'they lived abroad for a long time', *ji parašo laišką per vieną valandą* 'she wrote the letter in one hour'. The adverbial can also be in the form of an infinitive: *jie išėjo maudytis* 'they went out for a bathe' (lit. 'to bathe').

As in the case of adverbs (p. 173 ff.) several types of adverbials are distinguished: *temporal* (cf. examples just quoted), *local* (e. g. *grįžti iš kaimo* 'return from the countryside') , of *manner* (*elgtis puikiu būdu* 'to behave in a nice way'), of *purpose (jie išėjo maudytis)*, of *reason (mirti dėl ligos* 'die of a disease') and others.

Forms of subordination here are *government* and *adjunction*.

For government, cf. above. Adjunction (or "juxtaposition", Lith. *šliejìmas*) may be defined negatively as the way of subordination which cannot adequately be described as agreement or government. Typical cases of adjunction are encountered with indeclinable words like adverbs, gerunds or infinitives. A couple of examples: *greitai* (adverb) in *eiti greitai* 'walk fast', *labai* (adverb) in *labai gerai* 'very good', *temstant* (gerund) in *grįžti temstant* 'return when it is getting dark' and *eiti* (infinitive) in *troškimas eiti* 'desire to walk'. When adverbials are expressed by a noun phrase as, for example, *ilgą laiką* (instead of the adverb *ilgai)* in *gyventi ilgą laiką užsienyje* 'to live abroad for a long time' one can equally speak of adjunction (or by way of alternative 'weak government").

### Difficulties in distinguishing Objects from Adverbials

It is often difficult to distinguish between an object and an adverbial. In the case of prepositional phrases it is crucial whether there is only one possible and obligatory preposition required by the verb or whether more (non-verb) determined prepositions can be applied. The former situation is an indication of an object, e. g. *priklausyti nuo tavęs* 'to depend on you', the latter of an adverbial, e. g. *važiuoti iš Vilniaus*,

*važiuoti į Vilnių, važiuoti link Vilniaus* 'to go (travel) from/to/towards Vilnius'.

A practical test often used is that *adverbials* answer questions with an *adverb* in contrast to the *object* which is determined by a question with a *pronoun*. Thus, in the sentence *kaime ji man kiekvieną dieną atneša obuolį iš sodo* 'in the countryside she brings me an apple from the garden every day' *man* and *obuolį* answer the pronominal questions *kam?* 'for whom?' and *ką?* 'what?' whereas *kiekvieną dieną* and *kaime* answer questions with the adverbs *kada/kaip dažnai?* 'when/how often'? and *kur?* 'where?' respectively. For determining the character of *iš sodo*, however, both the question with an adverb (*iš kur?* 'from where?') and that with a pronoun (*iš ko?* 'from what?') seem possible. The conclusion is that the test is not applicable in every case. This means that additional criteria have to be used. By comparing *iš sodo* in the above sentence with, for example, *iš sodo* in *sodyba susidaro iš sodo ir didelio namo* 'the mansion consists of a garden and a big house' one feels the much closer connection with the verb in the latter case which allows us to speak of a prepositional *object* as opposed to an *adverbial* in the former.

**The Attribute**
*(Pažyminỹs)*

The attribute is expressed by an adjective, an adjectival pronoun, a participle or a numeral. It can be *congruent* (i. e. subordinated to a noun through agreement, cf. p. 230 ff. below ) or *incongruent* (in which case it is subordinated through government, cf. p. 214). As examples of congruent attributes may serve *naujas* in the noun phrase *naujas namas* 'a new house', *kitas* in *kitas namas* 'another house', *paminėtas* in *paminėtas namas* 'the house mentioned', *penktasis* in *penktasis namas* 'the fifth house', *penki* in *penki namai* 'five houses' and of incongruent *mano* in *mano namas* 'my house', *tėvo* in *tėvo namas* 'father's house', (and from a logical point of view) *dešimt* in *dešimt namų* 'ten houses'.

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter it is dubious whether the attribute should be regarded as a member of the sentence *sensu stricto* since it is subordinate either to the subject, the object or the adverbial and - to the extent that it is a sentence member at all - can therefore count only as an indirect one of low (tertial) rank.

**Apposition**
*(Príedėlis)*

As appositions are regarded attributes in the form of a noun which are subordinated to another noun by means of agreement or adjunction. Examples: the title in the noun phrase *profesorius Mažiulis, profesoriaus Mažiulio* etc. 'professor Mažiulis' and the proper noun in *netoli nuo fabriko "Rūta"* 'not far from the factory *Ruta*'.

For other types of appositions, see chapters on adjective and participle (s. v. syntax).

The same that was said about the status of the attribute as a member of the sentence also holds good for appositions.

## Classification of the Sentence

There are many ways of classifying the sentence.

A. From the point of view of *modality* it can be classified either as 1) *declarative,* 2) *hortatory* or 3) *interrogative.*

Examples of types 1) - 3):

1) *Petras skaito knygą* 'Peter is reading a book', 2) *Skaityk knygą, Petrai!* 'Read the book, Peter!', 3) *Ar Petras skaito knygą?* 'Is Peter reading a book?'

Further, a sentence can be *affirmative (Petras skaito knygą* 'Peter is reading a book'*)* or *negated (Petras neskaito knygos* 'Peter is not reading a/the book'; *Jis yra negeras* 'he is not kind'*).*

Point A will not be further elaborated in this chapter, but types 1) - 3) will be described in detail in the chapter on word order.

B. Departing from *the structure* the sentence can be classified either as 1) *two-part* or 2) *one-part* (*dvinãris* or *vienãnaris*). An obligatory requirement of the former is the presence of the two principal members of the sentence, i. e. a grammatical subject (*veiksnỹs*) expressed in the nominative case + a predicate *(tarinỹs)* which agrees with the subject in opposition to one-part sentences which are in possession of only one principal member, in Lithuanian labeled *tarinỹs* (i. e., the same term as for the predicate in two-part sentences).

Examples of 1) two-part-sentences are: *Petras skaito* 'Peter is reading'/*Petras (yra) jaunas* 'Peter is young' and of 2) one-part: *sninga* 'it's snowing'/*šalta* 'it is cold'. One-part sentences should not be confused with *incomplete* sentences since one-part sentences are considered to be structurally complete. An example of an incomplete sentence is: *Petras* (instead of the complete *Petras skaito*) as an answer to the question: *kas skaito?* 'who is reading?'

Point B will be dealt with in more detail below.

C. Finally, a distinction must be made between *simple* (vientisìniai) and *compound* (sudėtìniai) sentences. The simple sentence will be defined and described in the immediately following passage. For the compound sentence, see p. 223 ff.

### Subsequent Disposition

The distinction between the simple and the compound sentence will have the highest hierarchical rank in the subsequent disposition. The

simple sentence will be divided into two main sections according to the parameters, two-part and one-part sentences presented in point B above. This bifurcation will not be implemented in the case of the compound sentence since it cannot be applied to the compound sentence as a whole, only to its constituents which are in fact identical in structure with simple sentences. For the same reason the term *basic sentence patterns* which will be introduced in the following is reserved for the simple sentence.

## THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

*(Vientisìnis sakinỹs)*

The simple sentence may be defined as a *sentence containing one single predicative centre*. A simple sentence is classified as either *two-part* or *one-part*, cf. p. 216 above. The basic *sentence patterns* valid for Lithuanian are:

| | **Valence** | **Two-Part Sentences** | **One-Part Sentences** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ø dependent member | *S+P:*<br>*verbal: Jis rašo* 'He is writing';<br>*Nominal: Jis (yra) senas* 'he is old' | *P:*<br>*Verbal: Sninga* 'It is snowing'<br>*Nominal: Šalta* 'it is cold'; *Vakaras* 'it is evening' |
| 2 a | 1 dependent member | *S+P+O:*<br>*jis gynė savo disertaciją* 'he defended his thesis' | *P+O:*<br>*Jį pykina* 'He feels sick' |
| 2 b | 1 dependent member | *S+P+A:*<br>*Jis gyvena mieste* 'he lives in the city' | *P+A:*<br>*Kieme subildėjo* 'a knocking began in the village' |
| 3 a | 2 dependent members | *S+P+O+O:*<br>*Jis davė jai žiedą* 'He gave her a ring' | *P+O+O:*<br>*Kiemą prinešė sniego* 'The yard was filled with snow' |
| 3 b | 2 dependent members | *S+P+O+A:*<br>*žiemą ji prabuvo pas sūnų* 'She passed the winter at her son's place' | *P+O+A:*<br>*čia trūksta oro* 'Air is lacking here' |

In the diagram the symbols S, P, O and A represent subject, predicate (including the principal member of one-part sentences), object and adverbial respectively. For members of the sentence, see preceding section.

Sentences containing dependent members (i. e. types 2a - 3b) are called *expanded* sentences in contrast with the *non-expanded* in 1.

In the above table there is no sentence with more than two dependent members. It is, of course, possible to have sentences with more than two such members. It seems, however, that two is the maximum number in terms of *structural obligatoriness*. Thus, the above table presents us with the basic sentence types of Lithuanian in so far as mandatoriness is a claim. Even in a sentence with two dependent members one member may be optional from the point of view of grammatical obligatoriness, cf., for example, *aš jai nupirkau gėlių* 'I bought her flowers'. The verb *nupirkti* can be construed without an indirect object. Thus, *aš jai nupirkau gėlių* does not represent a *basic* sentence in the above sense of Lithuanian.

## Two-Part Sentences

*(Dvinãriai sakiniaĩ)*

Two-part sentences must contain a grammatical (i. e. nominative) subject + a predicate which agrees with the subject, cf. the table of sentence patterns quoted above. In addition they can have dependent sentence members (object, adverbial), see table just referred to. Two-part sentences of Lithuanian do not deviate considerably from those known from Germanic and other languages and will therefore not be described in detail here.

The main types are given in the survey of sentence patterns above. For further examples, see chapter on word order which also gives an overview of the different positions which can be occupied by the members of the sentence.

## One-Part Sentences

*(Vienãnariai sakiniaĩ)*

One-part sentences should be examined in more detail than two-part since they show structures which are either absent or very rarely encountered in many other languages. Students with knowledge of a Slavic language will be familiar with such structures whereas many others will have to study them very carefully.

In contrast to two-part sentences one-part sentences can never contain a grammatical (i. e. nominative) subject in agreement with a predicate. The obligatory component of a one-part sentence is a special kind of *tarinys* ("predicate", cf. p. 176 f. above).

Dependent on the form of the *tarinys* a distinction is drawn between *verbal one-part sentences* (with the subgroup *infinitival sentences*) and *nominal one-part sentences.*

The following exposition should be taken as a comment on the above table of basic sentence patterns (p. 217).

## Verbal One-Part Sentences

Verbal one-part sentences can be defined as one-part sentences with a *verbal tarinys* (for the term, see p. 211). This *tarinỹs* is always in the 3rd person. For one part sentences in which the *tarinỹs* is in the form of a "neuter" participle, see under nominal one part sentences below.

1) The simplest structure is represented by sentences consisting of the *verbal tarinỹs* only. Here belongs a group of verbs incapable of taking an object like for instance the "meteorological" *aušti/švisti* 'become light(ish)', *temti* 'become dark', *vakarėti* 'become evening', *rudenėti* become autumn', *lyti* 'to rain', *snigti* 'to snow', *griausti* 'thunder', *šalti* 'to freeze'.

Examples: *Šąla* 'it is freezing', *vakarėja* 'evening is coming', *lijo* 'it was raining'. With some of these verbs a tautological noun in the nominative may be added, thus changing the structure into a personal (automatically two part) sentence: *lyja lietus* 'it is raining' (lit. 'the rain is raining').

*Adverbial extensions* (on extension, see p. 239 f.) are possible, e. g. *vakar visą dieną smarkiai lijo* 'yesterday it was raining heavily all day long'. The adverbial can also be in the form of the instrumental case or a prepositional phrase: *žvaigždėmis, žiedais lyja* 'it is raining with stars and flowers'; *nuo stogo varva* 'it is dripping from the roof'. The adverbials here are optional in the sense that they are not required by the valence of the verb.

2) One-part sentences with a verbal *tarinỹs* can have an obligatory *object* in the *accusative, genitive* or *dative.*

a) An *accusative* object can be found with verbs expressing *phenomena of nature*, e. g. *užsnigo namą* 'the house snowed in'. It is also encountered with verbs denoting an unpleasant physical state of a person, cf. the example *jį pykina* quoted in the table of basic sentence patterns above.

b) The *genitive* object is typical of *negative existential sentences*: *pinigų nebėra/neliko* 'there is/was no money left'. Grammatically *pinigų* has to be classified as an object even though from a logical point of view it can be conceived as a subject.

c) The function of a grammatical object, but logical subject is also observed in the *dative* in sentences of the type *man nesidirba* 'I can't

work'. The verb is negated and reflexive. Such constructions are contrasted with two-part sentences with another nuance of meaning: *aš nedirbu* 'I don't work; I am not working'. The logical subject is further transparent in *man sekasi/nesiseka* 'I am (un)fortunate'.

Sentences with an obligatory object can be extended with a structurally optional adverbial, cf. for example *man šiandien nesidirba* 'I can't work to-day'.

3) In one part sentences with *two obligatory objects* the following combinations are encountered: a) *accusative + genitive* (= type *kiemą prinešė sniego* quoted in the table of sentence patterns above), b) *accusative + dative*: *jam skauda galvą* 'he has headache', c) *accusative + instrumental* (*vaiką išbėrė raudonais spuogeliais* 'the child got red pimples all over'), d) *genitive + dative* (*jiems reikia duonos* 'they need bread'). In a) we find a number of verbs with the prefix *pri-*, in c) verbs with the meaning 'to seed out' and in d) verbs belonging to the semantic field of 'be lacking; be sufficient'.

4) A special comment on the different types with *obligatory adverbials* should hardly be necessary. In addition to the examples quoted in the table of basic sentence patterns above we will give only the subtype *jį traukia prie jūros* 'he is longing for the sea'.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the verbs referred to above can occur in the form of an infinitive after phasal auxiliaries in the 3rd person, e. g. *Pradėjo/ėmė temti* 'it began to get dark'. The two components constitute a *compound verbal tarinỹs*.

The combination of a phasal auxiliary with a verb like, for example, *statyti* 'build' would yield an example of what is known in German grammar as "*man*-Sätze": *Pradėjo statyti namą* 'one (somebody) began building a/the house'. Such sentences are usually labeled *personal* one-part sentences in contrast to other verbal one-part sentences which can be referred to as *impersonal*. Personal one-part sentences are possible also without a phasal verb. The main verb must then be in the form of the 3rd person: *Dabar stato naują namą* 'now one is building a new house or: now a new house is being built'. Another example would be: *Sako, kad* 'one says that (it is said that)'. See also chapter on voice.

## Infinitive Sentences

Infinitive sentences can be regarded as a special kind of verbal one-part sentences with an *infinitive in the function of the tarinỹs alone*. They express different *modal nuances* (wish, command, prohibition, possibility, impossibility and others), cf. also p. 194.

Examples: *Vaikai, dainuoti!* (Žemaitė) 'sing, children!', *Laimingai sugrįžti!* (Baltušis) 'happy return!' In *Ką mums daryti?* 'what shall/can we do?' and *jam negirdėti motinos balso* 'he cannot hear his mother's voice' the structures are accusative + dative + infinitive and dative + infinitive + genitive respectively.

At this place can also be mentioned constructions of the type *man nėra su kuo pakalbėti* 'I have nobody to speak with'.

Structurally different are constructions where the infinitive is dependent on a formally finite verb as, for example, in *reikia pabaigti darbą* 'it is necessary to end the work' or *pradėjo temti* 'it began getting dark'. These are not infinitive sentences in the sense usually attributed to this term, cf. the definition just given.

## Nominal One-Part Sentences

A nominal one-part sentence is a one part sentence with a *nominal tarinỹs* (for the term, see p. 211).

Two different types must be distinguished, cf. table of basic sentence patterns above, namely 1) sentences in which the *tarinỹs* is expressed by a passive participle or adjective (usually in the "neuter" form, see p. 62) + a copulative verb, and 2) sentences in which the *tarinỹs* is in the form of a noun in the nominative case. The latter type is often referred to as a *nominative* sentence.

1) should be divided into two parts: a) sentences with a passive (or passive-like) participle, and b) sentences with an adjective in the role of the *tarinỹs*.

Examples of a): *Šioje apžvalgoje neįmanoma atsakyti į klausimą, kodėl* [...] 'in this survey it is impossible to answer the question why [...]'; *Teigiama, kad [...]* 'it is being maintained that', *Neretai griebiamasi atviro melo. Antai laikraštyje buvo rašoma, kad [...]* 'quite often open lies are being taken resort to; thus, in a journal it was written that [...]'; *Reikalaujama lenkiškų pamaldų Vilniaus Arkikatedroje* 'prayers in Polish are being demanded in the Cathedral of Vilnius'; *Visu tuo siekta sudaryti regimybę, kad [...]* 'through all this it has been achieved to pretend that [...]; *Darbą stengtasi rašyti taip, kad [...]* 'it has been aimed at writing the work in such a way that [...]; *Čia žmogaus eita/būta* 'here there has gone/been a man'.

The material demonstrates that "neutral" form participles can be extended with dependent sentence members of different kinds (objects, including infinitives and dependent clauses, and adverbials). The syntactic combinations show that one-part participle sentences have a verbal, rather than a nominal character. In the same direction point also possible substitutions with one-part sentences in active form like *teigia,*

*kad* 'one maintains that' or *siekė sudaryti regimybę* 'one achieved to pretend'. Our sole reason for putting them into the basket of nominal sentences is the morphological make up of the participle itself.

Examples of b): *Karšta* (with *zero* copula) 'it is hot'; *Buvo karšta* 'it was hot'; *Tapo karšta* 'it became hot'.

Such sentences can be extended with an *object* (= logical subject) in the dative case, e. g. *Jam buvo karšta* 'it was hot for him; he felt hot'. Extensions with adverbials are also possible: *Šiandien karšta* 'today it is hot'.

Another pattern which should be included among type 1) sentences is: *Tėvo nebėra gyvo* 'father is no longer alive', e. g. negated copulative constructions with agreement between the adjective and the genitive object (= logical subject). This variant corresponds with non-negated two part sentences: *Tėvas dar gyvas* 'father is still alive'.

Close to type 1) are constructions with an adverb or a semantically attenuated noun like *gaila* in the role of the *tarinỹs*, e. g. *jam gerai* 'he is well' and *man gaila tavęs* (gen.) 'I feel sorry for you'.

2) *Nominative sentences.* Examples: *Vakaras* 'it is evening' or extended with an attribute: *Vėlus vakaras* 'it is late (in the) evening'. In a case like *Buvo vakaras* 'it was evening' it could be argued whether one has to do with a one-part or two-part sentence. In the latter case the nominative noun would constitute the grammatical subject and *buvo* the predicate. Analogically one could think of the same solution for *Vakaras*, i. e. subject + *zero* form of the predicate.

## THE COMPOUND SENTENCE
*(Sudėtìniai sakiniaĩ)*

A compound sentence *contains more than one predicative centre.* The predicative centres can be linked together through *syndetism* or *asyndetism.* The former device involves the implementation of conjunctions (see chapter 11) or conjunctive words (= relative pronouns and adverbs, see chapters 4 and 7). Conjunctions are either coordinate or subordinate whence also the distinction between *coordinate* and *subordinate* clauses. In the following exposition syndetism will have our main attention, but a note on asyndetism will be given at the end of the chapter.

## Coordination

*(Sakinių sujungìmas)*

The most important coordinate conjunctions were listed in the above chapter on conjunctions. In addition there are a good number of others which may be said to have the functions of coordinate conjunctions, for which more comprehensive grammars of Lithuanian as well as dictionaries should be consulted.

Examples:

*ir: aš rašau ir tu rašai* 'I am writing and you are writing'

*ir - ir: ir aš rašau, ir tu rašai* 'both I write and you write'

*o: aš rašau, o tu skaitai* 'I am writing, but (whereas, and) you are reading'

*bet: jis yra atvažiavęs, bet aš nežinau kada* 'he has arrived, but I don't know when'

Although both *o* and *bet* are translated into English as 'but', they are not always interchangeable. The two examples given are typical of their use: *o* emphasizes the contrast (like Russian *a*), whereas *bet* can imply a reservation made (like Russian *no*).

*ar: arba atidirbk, arba sugrąžink pinigus* 'either you complete the work or give the money back',

*nei - nei: nei vėjas pūtė, nei giria gaudė* 'neither the wind was blowing nor the forest whistling'

## Subordination

*(Sakinių prijungìmas)*

The heading implies that the classification is made on the basis of the *subordinate* clause. There are different kinds of subordinate clauses and several ways of classifying them. Here the following scheme will be followed:

1) explicative
2) determinative
3) adverbial clauses

The most important subordinate conjunctions are listed in the chapter on conjunctions.

### 1. Explicative Clauses

The verb in the main clause belongs to the semantic sphere of *saying, asking, seeing, feeling* and the like, and the subordinate conjunction

will correspond either to English *that* (Lithuanian *kad* or the more bookish *jog*) or *if* (Lithuanian *ar*). These conjunctions are typical of indirect discourse (in a broad sense). An *ar/if*-clause is used in indirect questions. Indirect questions not introduced by *ar/if*, but through an interrogative pronoun or adverb will also be treated in this section.

Illustrations:

*A. non-interrogative:*

a) *Ji sakė, kad/jog šiandien (yra) geras oras* 'he said that today the weather was fine'

b) *Ji sakė, kad aš tuojau ateičiau* 'he said that I (should) come at once'.

The first sentence is in the indicative mood, whereas in the second the conjunctive must be used since the verb *sakyti* here has the meaning of a command or a request, see chapter on moods. In the first example also the *relative mood* (with or without the conjunction) would have been possible (although with a somewhat different shade of meaning, see p. 128 ff. above).

*B. interrogative:*

a) *Ji klausė, ar oras yra geras/ar aš ateisiu* 'she asked if the weather was fine/if I would come'

b) *Ji klausė, kas atėjo/kaip ir kada jis atėjo* 'she asked who had come/ how and when he had come'; *Ji klausė, kiek knygų reikia pirkti* 'she asked how many books it was necessary to buy'

In examples of the above type a discrepancy in the use of tenses will often be observed between Lithuanian and English. This is because in indirect speech Baltic (together with Slavic) retains the tense of the direct speech whereas English (and the Scandinavian languages) has developed a system called *consecutio temporum* which means that the tense of the verb of the dependent clause repeats that of the verb in the main clause, cf. *Ji sakė: "Šiandien yra gražus oras" > Ji sakė, kad šiandien (yra) gražus oras* and *She said: "Today the weather is nice" > She said that today the weather was nice.*

## 2. Determinative Clauses

There are two kinds of determinative clauses:

A. *noun determinative* and B. *pronoun determinative.*

A is illustrated in: *Tie studentai, kurie vakar atvažiavo į Vilnių, buvo* [...] 'those students, who yesterday arrived in V., were [...]', where the noun *studentai* is said to be determined by the clause introduced

with *kurie*. In the following sentence *Vilnius, kur jie atvažiavo vakar, yra [...]* 'V., where they arrived yesterday, is [...]' the noun *Vilnius* is determined by a clause starting with *kur*.

B is exemplified in: *visi, kas vakar atvažiavo į Vilnių, buvo* [...] 'all who arrived in V. yesterday, were [...]'. Here the pronoun *visi* is determined by *kas*.

As demonstrated through the examples in both types, the conjunctive word is either a relative pronoun or an adverb. For further examples, see under relative pronouns and adverbs (pp. 79 and 173 ff. above).

As a subtype of b) one might mention cases like *kas nedirba, tas nevalgo* 'the one who doesn't work, doesn't eat'.

## 3. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses form a large group with many subdivisions, such as adverbial clauses of *time, purpose, reason* and others. They are labeled *adverbial* because the subordinate clause may be said to be syntactically equivalent to an adverbial extension of the main clause just like an adverb or adverbial, cf. for example *kai aš atėjau, jos ten nebuvo* 'when I came, she was not there' and *tada/tuo laiku jos ten nebuvo* 'then/at that time (adverb/ial/) she was not there'.

For "semi-clauses" expressed by gerunds, see p. 154 ff.

In the same way the examples quoted under 1) the *explicative* type could have been labeled object clauses since the dependent clause here functions as an object, cf. *ji sakė tai* 'she said that' (object) : *ji sakė, kad [... ]* 'she said that [...] (object)'.

### A. *Adverbial Clauses of Time*

The conjunction most commonly used here is *kaĩ* 'when'. In many, but not all cases, *kai* can be substituted by *kad(à)*. Other important conjunctions of time are *kõl* 'while' with its less frequent synonyms *ikì, lìg(i)* and *võs (tìk)* or just *tìk* 'as soon as, no sooner than'. The conjunction *lig(i)* can also mean 'until'. The same holds good for *ikì kõl*.

Examples:

*Kai pabudau, buvo šviesu aplinkui* 'when I woke up, it was light all around'

*Kai pradės kąsti, tai ir kąs* 'When one will begin to bite, then one (really) bites' (observe the correspondance *kai - tai*)

*Kai aš mažas buvau, šile ožius ganiau* (Jablonskis) 'When I was little, I chased goats shepherd in the pine forest'

*Kol gyveno mieste, nuo tokių pasimatymų buvo apsaugotas* (Pocius) 'when/as long as he lived in the city, he was protected against such meetings'

*Dirbsiu, iki galėsiu* 'I will work as long as I can'

*Ligi gyvas, to neužmiršiu* 'As long as I am alive, I'll not forget it'

*Jis palaukė, ligi ji užmigo* 'he waited until she fell asleep')

*Būkite čia, iki kol aš pareisiu* 'Stay here until I shall return')

*Vos atsigulė, visi sumigo* 'As soon as they had lain down, they all fell asleep' (or: 'no sooner ... than').

B. *Adverbial Clauses of Purpose*

Adverbial clauses of purpose have the conjunctions *kàd* and the somewhat archaic and rare *idañt*, both meaning '(in order) to, in order that'. Both are followed by the subjunctive:

*Mokytojas kalbėjo garsiai, kad mes girdėtume* 'the teacher spoke loudly in order that we should hear'.

When the subjects of the main and the subordinate clause of purpose are identical, many languages (among them English) prefer a construction with the infinitive. This, however, is not possible in Lithuanian, but instead of a finite verb (in the subjunctive, cf. p. 133) the *damas*-participle/gerund (cf. p. 154 ff.) from *norėti* 'to wish' + the infinitive of the main verb can be used: *norėdama paaiškinti tekstą, mokytoja davė daug pavyzdžių* 'in order to explain the text, the teacher gave many examples'. In this case the subjects of the participle clause and the main clause are identical. With different subjects or an implicit subject with a general meaning the special gerund in *-Vnt* must be used, e. g: *norint paaiškinti tekstą, reikia duoti daug pavyzdžių* 'in order to explain the text, one must present many examples'

C. *Adverbial Clauses of Result*

Such clauses are characterized by the conjunctions *kaĩp, kàd* 'so that' plus the indicative: *jis kalbėjo taip, kad jį visi suprato* 'he spoke so (in such a way) that everybody understood him', which can be contrasted with the adverbial clause of purpose with subjunctive (cf. b): *jis kalbėjo taip, kad jį visi suprastų* 'he spoke so, in order that everybody should hear him'.

D. *Adverbial Clauses of Reason*

In this function Lithuanian has got the stylistically unmarked *nès* in addition to *kadángi* which is typical of scientific and non-fictional prose. Both have the meaning 'because, since, as'. However, whereas the *nes*-sentence must be placed after the main clause, there are no such constraints as to the position of the *kadángi*-clause.

Examples:
*Jis negali atiduoti jai knygos, nes/kadangi ji jau išvyko* 'he can't give her the book, since she has already left'. Variant: *kadangi ji jau išvyko, jis negali atiduoti jai knygos.* Unacceptable is **nes ji jau išvyko, jis negali [...]*

E. *Adverbial Clauses of Condition*

Such clauses are introduced with *jéi(gu)* 'if (= in case)' which should not be confused with the explicative 'if'= *ar*, see above: *jei nežinai, tai nekalbėk* 'if you don't know, (then) don't speak'. The verb of the *jéi(gu)*-clause is in the indicative mood, if the condition is not an unreal, hypothetical one, in which case it will appear in the subjunctive mood both in the main and the subordinate clause (for examples, see the section on mood, s. v. the subjunctive).

F. *Adverbial Clauses of Concession*

The conjunctions in question are the stylistically neutral *nórs* and the colloquial *kàd ir*, both translating '(al)though; even if'. They are close in meaning to *bèt, õ* 'but' and *tačiaũ* 'however' (and can also be accompanied by them in the main clause).

Examples:
*Ateisiu, nors neturiu laiko* 'I'll come, though I have no time'
*Nors retai sėjom, bet tankiai dygo* 'Even though we rarely sew, nevertheless it grew up densely'.

G. *Adverbial Clauses of Comparison*

Adverbial clauses of comparison are formed with the help of the following conjunctions: *kaĩp* 'as, like', *lýg, it, tarĩtum* or *tarĩsi* 'as if'.

Illustrations:

*Jis elgiasi taip, kaip niekas iki šiol nesielgė* 'he behaved in such a way as nobody had behaved before (up to that time)';

*Jis valgo kaip vilkas* 'he eats like a wolf' (this may be regarded as a complex sentence with a deleted verb, i. e. *valgo,* in the subordinate clause);

*Mokytojo veidas nusišvietė, lyg jis žiūrėtų į blizgantį auksą* (Pocius) 'the teacher's face began shining as if he were looking at shining gold';

*Man pasigirdo, tartum/tarsi mane šaukia* 'I thought I heard someone calling me (it seemed to me as if ...)';

*Vaikinas dirbo toliau, it būtų nieko nepastebėjęs* 'the child continued his work as if he had not noticed anything'.

As can be concluded from the examples, *kaĩp* implies a real comparison or one imagined as a real one and is therefore followed by the indicative in opposition to *lýg, tařtum, tařsi* and *ìt* which are used in connection with assumptions or hypothetical comparisons and may be combined with the subjunctive. In many cases the clause introduced by a conjunction of comparison is incomplete, cf., for instance, the above example *Jis valgo kaip vilkas.*

*Equivalents of 'than' and 'the - the'*

Under point G constructions with *negù* 'than' (cf. p. 67) and *juõ - juõ/tuõ* (or *kuõ - tuõ*) 'the - the' can also be mentioned.

Examples:

*Šiemet geriau gyvename, negu (mes gyvenome) pernai* 'in this year we are having a better life than (we were having) last year'; *juo katę glostai, juo ji šiausiasi* 'the more you stroke the cat, the more proudly it carries itself'.

H. *Adverbial Clauses of Manner*

Here belongs among others the correlative type with *gradual* meaning: *Ji buvo tokia graži, kad akys raibo* 'she was so beautiful that one is dazzled'.

## Final Remarks

It should be mentioned that most descriptions of adverbial clauses include also *clauses of place*, but they can easily be formed with the help of adverbs of place (*kur*), e. g. *kur esate/einate?* 'where are you/ where are you going?'

In the above exposition combinations of *two* clauses only have been commented on, but, of course, sentences of a more complex structure are also encountered. Such sentences can be labeled *complex* in contrast to the compound ones demonstrated above.

## Asyndetism

Asyndetism can have the functions of both coordination and subordination. Which of these two main functions is present in every concrete case, becomes evident through the context. Thus, a sentence like *parduok tą kvepiantį obuolį man - aš suvalgysiu* can be interpreted either as 'sell that stinking apple to me, and I will eat it' or 'if you sell..., I [...]'.

# Chapter 13

# AGREEMENT

*(Dẽrinimas)*

Agreement is one of the three ways of expressing subordination in Lithuanian (cf. p. 215) and can be defined as a *morphological repetition (through desinences) of one and the same grammatical category within certain syntactic relations.*

Relevant grammatical categories are: A. *gender*, B. *number*, C. *person* and D. *case* whereas the relevant syntactic relations are:

1) that between *attribute and governing word*, cf., for example, *naujas namas : naujo namo : nauji namai* 'new house : of the new house : new houses' where the attributive adjective agrees in gender, number and case with the head noun,

2) that between *subject and predicate*, e. g. *namas yra naujas: namai yra nauji* 'the house is new : the houses are new' (agreement in gender, number /and case/ between the subject and the nominal part of the nominal predicate) and *aš rašau : jūs rašote* (agreement in person and number with the verbal predicate), and

3) that between *antecedent and the anaphoric pronoun* (including the relative) as, for instance, in: *Viename parke sedėjo vyras. Su juo kalbėjo moteris* 'There was a man sitting in a park. A woman was speaking with him' ; [...] *vyras, su kuriuo kalbėjo moteris* '[...] a man with whom a woman was speaking'.

For convenience relation 1) is generally referred to as *attributive agreement* and 2) as *predicate agreement.* Relation 3) will only be marginally commented upon.

There are two kinds of agreement, *formal* (or *grammatical*) and *logical* (*semantic*). The above definition explicitly pays attention to the former only. To cover also logical agreement, the definition should be modified as follows: *systematic covariation between a formal or semantic property of one element and a formal property of another.* An example of logical agreement would be: *jau yra atvykę keletas žmonių* 'some people have already arrived' whereas formal agreement would be **keletas žmonių yra atvykęs* with *atvykęs* in agreement with *keletas* in gender, number

and case (nominative). From a normative point of view only the *atvykę*-solution seems to be acceptable.

Agreement can be regarded from two different angles:
I. that of the grammatical categories (i. e. A, B, C and D)
II. that of the syntactic relations (i. e. 1 - 3).
The exposition below will follow I. It should also be pointed out that emphasis will be put on special cases which are expected to cause trouble to the student rather than uncomplicated ones like those already quoted in the above illustrations.

## A. Special Cases of Agreement in Gender

For generalities on gender, see p. 37 f. above.
a) Lithuanian has a quite limited group of nouns in *-a* denoting human beings (so-called "hybrids") which are masc. when they refer to males, but fem. if females are referred to, cf., for example, *akìplėša* 'wretch', *garbėtrošk*a 'ambitious person', *válkata* 'vagabond'.

Examples:
Relation 1):
*pavojingas* (male)/*pavojinga* (female) *akiplėša* 'a dangerous wretch'
Relation 2):
*akiplėša yra pavojingas* (male)/*pavojinga* (female) 'the wretch is dangerous'
Relation 3):
*atėjo akiplėša* 'a wretch appeared'. *Jis buvo pavojingas* 'he was dangerous'/*ji buvo pavojinga* 'she was dangerous'.

There is also a small group of nouns in *-as* which are either masc. or fem. depending on the biological gender (sex) of the person in question, e. g. *krapštùkas* 'pedantic person'. Thus, *senas krapštukas* has reference to a male person whereas *sena krapštukas* has female reference.

Nouns denoting *professions* do not show the same ambiguity with respect to gender in Lithuanian as the above mentioned cases since they obligatorily form pairs of the type *pedagogas* (male) : *pedagogė* (female) 'pedagogue', *mokytojas* (male) : *mokytoja* (female) 'teacher', *profesorius* (male) : *profesorė* (female) 'professor'. Consequently, they do not entail complications with respect to agreement. It should, however, be emphasized that masc. is the unmarked gender. Thus, a general introductory statement like *mūsų kaime dabar yra naujas gydytojas* 'in our village there is now a new physician' does not exclude the possibility that the new doctor could be a woman.

b) Also the personal pronouns *aš* 'I' and *tu* 'you' are gender differentiating, cf., for example, *aš esu girdėjęs* (male) vs. *girdėjusi* (female) 'I have heard'

c) This point is devoted to *indeclinable* nouns. When the gender rules given on p. 50 are observed, these nouns do not cause much trouble in terms of agreement, except for certain vacillations within the class of inanimate proper nouns which can obtain so-called "associative" gender, e. g. *ilgas Po* 'the long (river) Po' or *ilga Po* through association with the feminine *upė* 'river'. The latter solution seems to be preferable.

Associative agreement can further be used in cases like *Antano Strazdo "Pulkim ant kelių" dar populiari* 'A. S.'s "Let us fall on our knees" is still popular'. The feminine agreement is due to the association with *giesmė* 'song'. It would probably also be possible to apply the masc. form *populiarus* in virtue of the unmarked value of this gender. A safe (and therefore recommendable) solution is to insert a common noun like *giesmė* before the title in which case attributes and predicates must agree with the common noun.

d) For *abbreviations* the guiding principle is agreement with the grammatical head noun of the abbreviation, cf., for example: *LKŽ (= Lietuvių kalbos žodynas) yra gana išsamus* 'the LKŽ-dictionary of the Lithuanian language is quite comprehensive'.

In some cases also associative (or near to associative) agreement is found. Thus, for instance, the name of the British Broadcasting Corporation, *BBC*, can be associated with 'korporacija' or 'kampanija' and take feminine agreement.

e) *Noun combinations* of the type *raketa nešėja* 'rocket carrier', *inžinierius statybininkas* 'enterprise engineer', *lokys žvejys* 'fisherman bear' do not posit problems with respect to agreement since the qualifying second element will repeat the gender of the first member. Thus, for example, a woman enterprise engineer would be *inžinierė statybininkė*.

f) The pronoun *kas* can have neutral agreement, cf. *kas kita* 'something else' and *kas tam lygu* 'something like that'. The same pertains to *viskas: viskas, kas buvo jo gyvenime, buvo gera* 'all that was in his life, was good'; it is impossible to say **viskas, kas buvo jo gyvenime, buvo geras.*

Observe also the following interesting example: *Nuo tiesioginės netiesioginė kalba skiriasi [...] dar ir tuo, jog joje prarandama keletas*

*svetimajai kalbai būdingų savitumų, [...]* 'from direct speech the indirect differs [...] also through the circumstance that in it some peculiarities characteristic of other people's language are lost [...]'.

When there is no reference at all, i. e. in nominal one-part sentences, the neuter adjective form must equally be used: *visur yra ramu* 'it is quiet everywhere', cf. also p. 68 f. and 221 f.

g) This point is reserved for *interjections*. Such words, deprived of gender attributing indications, show - like the bulk of indeclinable nouns - masculine agreement since masc. is the unmarked gender in Lithuanian (cf. p. 50): *(buvo išgirstas) garsus brrr* 'a loud brrr (was heard)'.

## B. Special Cases of Agreement in Number

a) *Plural nouns* (cf. p. 51 f.) require modifiers in the plural: *rungtynės buvo sunkios* 'the match was difficult', *laimingų Naujųjų metų!* 'Happy New Year!', *Šiauliai - dideli* 'S. is big'. The alternative *Šiauliai - didelis* was not accepted by my informants who were willing to approve *Šiauliai didelis* only when *miestas* is explicitly added.

b) For *collective nouns* (see p. 53 f.) the norm requires modifiers in the singular: *dabartinis jaunimas* 'today's youth'. An anaphoric pronoun can, however, be used in singular or plural: *Lietuvos jaunimas - kur jis* or *jie eina?* 'the youth of Lithuania - where is it/are they going?'

c) *Indeclinable* nouns, require singular or plural agreement dependent on the reference to the extra-linguistic situation. Thus, *naujas meniu* means 'a new menu' whereas *nauji meniu* must be translated as 'new menus'.

d) This point pertains to *abbreviations*. Under A. above it was stated that agreement in this case basically follows the form of the head noun. This rule holds good also with respect to agreement in number - with some exceptions. Thus, for example, with *JAV* (= *Jungtinės Amerikos Valstijos*) singular agreement is also possible despite the fact that *valstybės* is a plural form: *JAV buvo įkurta/įkurtos 1776-ais metais* 'The USA was founded in 1776'. The former alternative *(įkurta)* seems to imply association with the feminine singular *Amerika*.

e) When two (or more) coordinate nouns are qualified by one and the same adjective(s), the adjective(s) can be put in the plural to obtain unambiguity: *mažieji brolis ir sesuo* 'the little brother and sister' (i. e. both are small).

f) Further, the polite form of the personal pronoun *Jūs* requires singular agreement with adjectives and participles when one person is referred to; a finite form of the verb, however, must be in the plural: *Ar Jūs esate stiprus/stipri//pavargęs/pavargusi* 'are you strong/tired?', *kam Jūs rašote šitą laišką* 'to whom are you writing this letter?'

g) The pronoun *kas* 'who?' is used with singular agreement irrespective of the number of persons or objects referred to: *kas yra atėjęs - Algis ir Birutė, arba tik Algis?* 'who has come - Algis and Birute, or just Algis?' (It should further be observed that in the Standard language *kas* shows only masc. agreement, not feminine.)

h) Finally, mention should be made of group subjects with *quantificators* as the grammatical head of the type *daug, keletas* and others + the genitive plural of countable nouns: *jau yra atėję keletas žmonių*. In such cases *logical* agreement should be used, see introduction to this chapter above.

## C. Special Cases of Agreement in Person

Generally it can be said that the 1st person dominates the 2nd, and the 2nd the 3rd person, e. g. *tu ir aš (= mes) einame, tu ir ji(s) (= jūs) einate, mes ir jie/jos einame, jūs ir jie/jos einate.*

The relative pronoun *kuris, kuri* is expected to harmonize with the 3rd person. However, when the relative pronoun points to another person than the 3rd person, the verb of the relative clause will usually be in the 1st or 2nd person, cf., for example, the following passage from the Bible: *tėve mūsų, kurs essi danguje* (Matth. VI, 9) 'our father which art in Heaven'. From modern everyday language: *aš, kuris/kuri gyvenu čia* 'I who am living here', *tu, kuris/kuri gyveni čia* 'you who are living here'.

## D. Special Cases of Agreement in Case

Here mention should be made of *combinations of common noun + proper name* where the latter appears in quotation marks as, for

example, in book titles etc. In such cases the proper name will remain undeclined independent of the case of the common noun, e. g. *romane "Karas ir taika"* 'in the novel "War and peace". However, if the common name is deleted, the title must be declined (provided that it is declinable): *"Kare ir taikoje"* 'in "War and Peace". Another example would be *šitas incidentas įvyko netoli nuo fabriko "Vilna"* 'this incident occurred not far from the factory "Wool".

With *titles of professions + personal names*, however, the title and the proper name harmonize with respect to case, e. g. *kreiptis į profesorę Jakaitienę* 'apply to Professor Jakaitiene'.

With other combinations of *common noun + proper noun* the basic principle is positing the proper name in the genitive case, see chapter on the cases p. 179 ff.

In *appositions* with *kaip* 'as', the same case should be used on either side of *kaip*, e. g. *visi remiasi šiuo darbu kaip labai geru vadovėliu* 'everyone refers to this book as a very good handbook'. Exceptions are found in cases like *tokiuose miestuose, kaip Ryga, Vilnius, Londonas* 'in such cities as Riga, Vilnius, London'. Neither in Lithuanian nor English is it natural to say ... *kaip Rygoje, Vilniuje, Londone* 'in such cities as *in* Riga, Vilnius and London'. Compare also the following example: *niekada neatras tokios mergaitės kaip Aušra* (i. e. [...] *kaip yra Aušra*) 'you will never find such a girl as (is) Aušra'.

Contrast the following two examples *aš jį pažįstu kaip draugą : aš jį pažįstu kaip draugas,* both meaning 'I know him as a friend'. The former utterance, however, expresses that he is a friend (of somebody's, possible also me) whereas in the latter *draugas* refers to the subject, i. e. *aš, būdamas jo draugas*, [...] 'I, being a friend of his [...]'.

With transitive verbs which are construed with a direct object plus an *object predicative* (e. g. *apibūdinti* 'characterize as' and *laikýti* 'consider; regard as') the problem arises whether a construction accusative + *kaip* + accusative or accusative + instrumental (without *kaip*!) should be used. With *apibūdinti* the former construction is required (e. g. *savo kalboje šeimininkas apibūdino svečią kaip gerą draugą* 'in his speech the host characterized the guest as a good friend') whereas *laikyti* requires the latter construction: *visi jį laikė geru draugu* 'everybody considered him a good friend', cf. also p. 190.

# Chapter 14

# WORD ORDER

*(Žõdžių tvarkà)*

## Introductory Remarks

This chapter could more adequately be called *element order* since it also includes a description of the position of certain *clitics* (cf. section III below) which cannot be defined as words, but *word order* is a common term and covers most of the contents of this chapter whence we have decided to adopt this term.

The introduction of a bipartite *communicative analysis* of the ut–terance in *theme* (i. e. given information) and *rheme* (= new inform-ation) by Czech linguists (Mathesius, and further elaborated by Daneš and others) meant no less than a revolution with respect to our know-ledge about the mechanisms and principles behind word order.

For *theme* the term "topic" is also used and for *rheme* "comment"

In prosodically neutral declarative sentences the position of the *theme* is *initial* whereas the *rheme* occupies sentence final position. The theme-rheme segmentation seems to be important in all languages, but is of special importance in a non-article language like Lithuanian. In Germanic and Romance languages the articles are of great help in identifying the theme and the rheme since the former usually adopts a definite form in opposition to the latter which normally shows either indefinite or zero article, cf. the following example from English: 'Yesterday I met *an old man* (rheme). *The man/he* (theme) was sitting outside *a little, red house* (rheme). *The house/it* (theme) had *small windows* (rheme)'. The notions *theme* and *rheme* make sense only within a *context* which is built up by theme-rheme chains as illustrated in the above example.

A context must necessarily start at some point whence the introductory part will usually be context non-dependent and consequently themeless. For examples, see below.

Languages without a case system, like for instance English and Scandinavian, do not offer the same possibilities for variations in word order as do case languages. In the former type of languages word order has a *grammatical* function. Thus, in sentences containing the three constituents subject, verb and object, the subject must occupy the initial position in caseless languages whereas this is not obligatory in a language like Lithuanian where the subject can be distinguished from the object through the case ending whereby their place in the sentence is not so vital as, for instance, in English and Scandinavian. Thus, in Lithuanian it is possible to say either *Jonas parašė laišką* (SVO) or *laišką parašė Jonas* (OVS). The former sentence is translated into English as 'John wrote a letter' while for the second we have to choose a passive construction 'the letter was written by John' to satisfy both the grammatical need for reserving the initial position for the subject and preserving the theme-rheme structure of the Lithuanian sentence. From the two sentence variants in Lithuanian it can be concluded 1) that they are not identical from a *communicative* point of view since their theme/rheme structures are different and 2) that an active OVS sentence in Lithuanian often corresponds to a passive construction in English (see also section on Voice, p. 109 ff.).

Generally it should be emphasized that the variations in word order are fewer in non-fictional prose than in fiction and above all in colloquial speech (as well as in poetry). The presentation below is more or less restricted to the sphere of non-fictional prose. Further, our description concentrates on simple sentences since very little has been done in the field of word order in compound sentences, especially large text units. A further complication is that there are few works on word order in Lithuanian; the best one available at present is probably that found in the grammar of 1994 ed. by V. Ambrazas, pp. 645 - 658, which, however, is in Lithuanian and can thus be used only by students who are familiar with this language.

An alternative for students with a knowledge of Russian would be the 1985 grammar of Lithuanian, edited by the same Ambrazas. Shortly Ambrazas et al. will be presenting an English edition which will partly be built on another concept than both the grammar of 1985 and that of 1994.

Finally, one must distinguish between *changeable and non-changeable word order*. To the latter type belong the structurally determined obligatory sentence initial position of the interrogative particle *ar (ar Jūs esate ponas Ambrazas?* 'are you Mr. A.?') as well as

the position of the negation immediately *before* the word which is negated, cf. for example *jis nerašo* 'he doesn't write' : *jis rašo ne tik romanus, bet irgi poeziją* 'he writes not only novels, but also poetry'. See also the section on clitics below, points 1 and 3.

It should be observed that changeable word order is not synonymous with free word order. Even though word order in Lithuanian is changeable to a considerable degree, still it is not free in the sense that variation in word order is of no importance. This is because a change in word order will normally imply another communicative structure and thus alter the content of the utterance. A change in word order can also alter the type of style.

The disposition below will proceed according to the following scheme:

I. The position of the members of the sentence,
II. The position of the members in the noun phrase,
III. The position of clitics. Clitic rules.

The strictest rules can be formulated for III whereas II and especially I are based upon less rigid rules. The order of the members of the sentence show many variations in Lithuanian, which makes the picture extremely complicated.

## I. THE POSITION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SENTENCE

The analysis will start with sentences containing the sentence members subject (S) and verb (V) only. From such structures we will proceed to extended structures including an object (O), i. e. SVO-, OVS-structures etc. and also to the somewhat looser structures with adverbials (SVAdv/AdvVS etc.). Many grammarians would prefer the opposite alternative and start from and regard the SVO-structure as basic and deduce other structures, including the simpler SV/VS-structures, from it.

Our analysis will concentrate on sentences with a *verbal predicate* (see p. 211) almost to the exclusion of sentences containing a *nominal predicate* (p. 211). This is because the latter has to a considerable degree been dealt with elsewhere (in connection with the adjective p. 67 and the participles p. 164 ff.) and further because sentences of this type show less variation in word order.

Here declarative sentences will be dealt with first. Then follows a description of word order in interrogative sentences of different types.

# 1. Declarative Sentences

Let us start our short survey of word order in Lithuanian by commenting on:

## A. Non-Extended Sentences

Such sentences consist of subject and verb only whereby the usual (and unmarked) word order is SV: *Jonas skaito* 'John is reading', *profesorė Jakaitienė dėsto* 'professor J. is teaching', *vaikas verkia* 'the child is crying'.

In *themeless sentences*, i. e. introductory, existential and similar ones, however, the unmarked word order is VS: *gyveno senelis ir senelė* 'once upon a time) there were/lived a grandfather and a grandmother'; *buvo (jau vėl) vakaras* 'it was (already late in the) evening', *atėjo mokytojas* 'the teacher came'. In such cases the verb typically belongs to the semantic sphere of existence and appearance.

The VS-order is also the rule in sentences where the subject does not denote an *agent* such as for instance *lijo lietus* 'it was raining'. The variant *lietus lijo* would imply a stylistically marked sentence (with the logical stress on *lietus).*

Observe further cases like *Mirė rašytojas 1989 m.* 'the writer died in 1989', formulas typically found at the end of encyclopaedic entries.

Typical of newspaper headlines are (passive) VS constructions of the type *Pavogtas Estijos ambasadorės "Mercedes"* 'the Estonian ambassador's "Mercedes" stolen"; *Apiplėštas Marijampolės [firmos] "Fenix" prezidentas* 'the director of the firm "Phoenix" in Mariampolė robbed'; *Sulaikytas [...] vadas "Kot"* 'maffia-leader "Kot" seized/arrested'.

The VS word order must further be used with *verbs of saying/thinking* and the like *after direct speech.* Examples: - *Dėkui, dėkui, - atsakė žmogelis* "Thanks a lot", the man answered; - *Aš noriu išlipti, - tarė jis* "I want to get off", he said.

## B. Extended Sentences

### a) Adverbial Extensions

Adverbial modifiers can simply be placed before the V in VS type sentences: *vakar visą dieną lijo lietus* 'yesterday it was raining all day', *į kambarį atėjo vaikas* 'a child came into the room', lit. 'into the room (there) came a child', *ant sienos kabo paveikslas* 'on the wall a painting is hanging'. The structures AdvVS with thematic adverbial + rhematic subject in the last two examples are contrasted by the SVAdv sentences

with thematic subject + rhematic adverbial: *vaikas įėjo į kambarį* 'the child entered the room' and *paveiksalas kaba ant sienos* 'the painting is hanging on the wall'.

In contrast to English and many other languages, among them Scandinavian, Lithuanian tolerates a cumulation of two or more adverbials of time and place at the beginning of the sentence (before the verb and the subject), e. g. *miške kaip tik tuo metu viename mažame namelyje gyveno plėšikai* lit. 'in the forest just at that time in a little house there lived (some) bandits'; *rugpjūčio 17 dieną apie 17 val. kelyje Kaunas - Šakiai budėję Kauno rajono kelių policijos ekipažo darbuotojai bandė sustabdyti automobilį VAZ - 2109* lit. 'on August 17 around 5 p. m. on the highway between Kaunas and Šakiai workmen on duty [...] tried to stop a car [...]'.

Here also the position of *adverbs* accompanying *verbs* (regardless of their semantic type) should be commented upon. The *neutral* position of adverbs is immediately in front of the verb they qualify. This is above all the case with adverbs of *manner*, e. g. *jie gerai dirba* 'they work well', but holds good also for adverbs of *place, time and cause*, cf. for example *aš čia gyvenu* 'I live here', *dabar visur lyja* 'now it is raining everywhere', *mes tuojau grįšim* 'we will return at once', *vaikas kažkodėl susirgo* 'the child fell ill for some reason or other'. The immediately-before-the-verb-position-principle is also valid for prepositional and noun phrases functioning as *adverbials of manner*, e. g. *vaikai mane ant rankų nešiojo* 'the children carried me on their arms', *motina balsu pravirko* 'mother began to cry loudly'. Adverbial case constructions expressing meanings other than that of manner seem to have a freer position in relation to the verb. Generally speaking, however, postposition of an adverbial modifier serves the purpose of some communicative emphasis, cf., for example *aš gyvenu gerai* 'I am getting on/living well'.

**b) Object Extensions**

*One Object*

Such sentences have to some extent already been commented upon, cf. the examples quoted above, viz. SVO (*Jonas parašė laišką*) vs. OVS (*laišką parašė Jonas*), under introductory remarks. For that illustration a transitive verb *(parašyti)* was chosen. The definition of transitive verbs in caseless languages, however, differs from that which is valid for case languages. In the former group a verb can be defined as transitive without any constraint as to the nature of the object by which it is accompanied whereas in the latter as a rule only accusative governing verbs (without involvement of prepositions) can be transitive, i. e. can be "transformed" from active to passive or *vice versa*. Thus, a sentence like

'the boy was helped by a/the girl' should be rendered in Lithuanian by *vaikui padėjo mergaitė* and not **vaikas buvo mergaitės padėtas* since the verb *padėti* 'to help' requires the dative case and is consequently intransitive. Here *vaikui* is thematic in opposition to the rhematic *mergaitė*; in the variant *mergaitė padėjo vaikui* the theme is expressed by *mergaitė,* the rheme by *vaikas.*

According to Ambrazas *op. cit.* 1994, p. 649 the *neutral* word order in sentences containing an object is SVO, where S is thematic, O rhematic: *jis labai myli savo motiną* 'he loves his mother very much'. Also in one-part sentences (for the term, see p. 219 ff.) the neutral order seems to be VO: *Šiauliuose stato naują mokyklą* 'in Šiauliai a new school is being built' (.../they/ build a new school').

However, even the alternative (S)OV model can be close to neutral. Thus, a variation between (S)VO and (S)OV can be observed with minimal communicative nuances between them in many cases, especially when the object is expressed by an anaphoric pronoun. In such cases the (S)OV structure may even be said to be preferred: *visas miestas mane gerbė* 'the whole city respected me' (in this case the S and the O can be regarded as thematic in contrast to the V which is rhematic), *kiškis visų bijodavo* 'the hare was afraid of everybody'.

The SOV word order is also typical of *general statements* like *dideli vaikai širdį drasko* lit. 'big children tear the heart'. Further, it is frequently encountered in folkloric texts and fairy tales (cf., for example: *kai paskutinysis išsikrapštys, aš maišą paimsiu* 'when the last one has succeeded in getting out, I will take the bag') and in dialects.

Other variants with respect to word order (VSO and VOS) are likely to be stylistically marked. The possible close to neutral OVS model (as equivalent to a passive construction in English) was mentioned above.

Our treatment of the position of the object so far has had as its tacit presupposition that the sentences in question are context-bound. In *non-context dependent sentences* the SVO and SOV models can also be encountered, e. g: *kartą žmogus pamiškėj bulves kasė* 'once (upon a time) a man was digging potatoes at the edge of a forest'. Since the same word order is observed here as in the neutral models of context dependent sentences demonstrated above, the question whether they are context-free or not, can only be determined by the situation or context (or rather lack thereof). In non-context dependent sentences the VOS and OSV models are claimed to be extremely rare whereas the VSO and OVS-patterns seem to be common.

*Two Objects*

As in the case of adverbial modifiers there may be more than one object in the sentence. A frequent case is that with an indirect (dative) object denoting a person + a direct accusative object referring to a thing, e. g. *mergaitė davė vaikui obuolį* 'the girl gave the boy an apple'. A neutral reading of this sentence with no particular emphasis on any sentence member implies that the dative object is thematic, the accusative object rhematic. This $SVO_{ind}O_{dir}$ will probably be the commonest (and consequently "neutral") word order pattern for sentences containing both a dative and an accusative object. If the order of the dative and the accusative object is reversed, the latter will take over the thematic role whereas the former will turn into a rhematic object: *mergaitė davė obuolį vaikui* 'the girl gave the apple to a (the) boy'. In both cases the objects are postverbal.

However, both objects *may* also be put in preverbal position in which case both of them are most likely to be thematic provided that they are not especially emphasized.

In the case of *pronominalization* the pronoun (be it the indirect or direct object) will usually precede the noun object, e. g. *mergaitė davė jam obuolį* (or, may be, even more commonly: *mergaitė jam davė obuolį*), *mergaitė davė jį vaikui* 'the girl gave it, i. e. the apple to a (the) boy'.

If both the indirect and the direct object are pronominalized, the normal word order will be preverbal position for both with the indirect object preceding the direct one: *mergaitė jam jį davė* 'the girl gave it to him'. Pronominalization of this kind naturally signalizes thematization. If the situation is clear one of the pronominal objects can be deleted, e. g. *vaikas išėmė iš kišenės obuolį ir jai davė* 'the boy took an apple out of his pocket and gave (it) to her'.

## 2. Interrogative Sentences

So far some basic patterns of word order in simple declarative sentences have been examined. For matters of economy our treatment of interrogative sentences will be restricted. Two types of interrogative sentences should be distinguished, viz. 1) those containing an interrogative pronoun or adverb (so-called *wh*-questions in English, "k-questions" in Lithuanian) and 2) those not possessing an interrogative pronoun or adverb, but possibly the particle *ar* ("yes/no-questions").

*Illustrations of type 1 questions:*

SV: *Kas groja?*' 'Who is playing?' Answer (V)S: *(Groja) Gražina* 'G. (is playing)'.

AdvVS: *Kur groja Gražina/kur ji groja?* 'where is G./she playing?' Answer: (SV)Adv: *(G./ji groja) restorane'* (G./she is playing) in the restaurant',

OVS: *Ką darė Gražina?* (or OSV: *ką Gražina darė?*) 'What did G. do?' Answer: (S)V//(S)VO: *(Ji) grojo//(ji) žiūrėjo televiziją* '(she) played/(she) looked at TV';

OSV: *Ką studentai skaito?/ką jie skaito?* 'what do students/they read?' (or OVS:*ką skaito studentai?*). Answer: (SV)O: (*Studentai/jie skaito) savo programą, laikraščius ir romanus* '(the students/they read) their programme, newspapers and novels';

AdvSVAdv: *Kada G./ji grįžo iš restorano?*'when did G./she return from the restaurant?' Answer: *(SV)Adv (G./ji grįžo)* 11 valandą (G./she returned) at 11 p. m.'

Type 2) questions can be with or without the interrogative particle *ar*. It was also emphasized that this particle is only encountered in sentence initial position: *Ar studentai/jie skaito knygas?* 'do students/they read books?' If the *ar* particle is omitted, the remaining word order can be preserved: *Studentai/jie skaito knygas?* In speech, this variant must, however, be pronounced with a specific interrogative intonation to separate it from a declarative sentence with the same word order: *Studentai/jie skaito knygas* 'students read books'.

Also other variants of word order are possible, thus VSO in: *Ar skaito studentai knygas?* and VOS in: *Ar skaito knygas studentai?* In the former the centre of the rheme is *knygas*, in the latter - *studentai.*

## II. THE POSITION OF THE MEMBERS IN THE NOUN PHRASE

A noun phrase can be defined as a *word group* (*žõdžių junginỹs*) which is a combination of two or more words of a nominal word class constituting a *semantic unit*. One word (a noun) in the group occupies the role of *grammatical head* under which the other constituent/s is/are subordinated (through agreement, government or juxtaposition, see pp. 214 and 230).

Examples: *naujas namas* '(a) new house' (agreement), *tėvo namas* 'father's house' (government).

These are *simple* word groups in opposition to *complex*: *naujas tėvo namas* 'father's new house'.

A typical example of "juxtaposition" could be the combination of a verb and an adverb (e. g. *eiti greitai* 'to walk fast'), but verbal word groups of this kind have practically already been dealt with under I above. In this section we will therefore concentrate on nominal word groups.

The *neutral* position of *attributes*, both congruent (expressed by adjectives, adjectival pronouns and numerals) and non-congruent (expressed by nouns and certain pronouns), is *before* the governing noun, i. e. *naujas namas**, *tėvo namas, alaus butelis* 'beer bottle'. Exceptions to this rule are rare, but can be found in poetry (e. g. [...] *į mėnesį šaltą* 'in(to) the cold moon'. With the adnominal partitive genitive, however, *postposition* is the normal order: *butelis alaus* 'a bottle of beer'.

*The order *namas naujas* would be understood as 'the house is new' with deletion of the copulative verb *yra*.

Further, the *congruent attribute* is normally placed *before the non-congruent*, e. g. *naujas tėvo namas, baltas obel(ie)s žiedas* 'the white flower of the apple tree' rather than **tėvo naujas namas, obels baltas žiedas*. With non-congruent attributes expressed by other cases than the genitive, the *neutral* position of the attribute is postposition: *šalimais stovėjo vyriškis ilgu juodu švarku* (Baltušis) 'nearby there stood a man with a long, black jacket', *įvairiai žmonės kalbėjo apie įvykį dvare* (Cvirka) 'people spoke in different ways about the event in/at the mansion'.

In sequences of the type 'all these my beautiful flowers' the order of words is determinative pronoun + demonstrative + possessive + adjective: *visos šitos mano gražios gėlės*.

*Participle Attributes*

*Preposited* active *participles* often denote a secondary action of the subject whereas *postposited* participles have adverbial (circumstantial) meaning, cf. *brolis pavalgęs išėjo* 'the brother had his meal and went out' : *brolis išėjo pavalgęs* 'the brother went out (left) after the meal'.

For the position of attributive participles extended with dependent members (objects or adverbials), see p. 164.

## III. The Position of Clitics. Clitic Rules

A clitic can be defined as a normally unstressed element (particle/affix or word-like entity) which constitutes *one* stress unit together with its so-called *host word*. Dependent on their position (immediately) to the left or the right of the host word, clitics are referred to as *proclitics* or *enclitics*. Certain clitics can occupy a position either to the left or to the right of the host word. Such clitics are labeled *endoclitics*.

Below the following clitic candidates of Lithuanian will be considered:

1) the proclitic interrogative particle *ar*,
2) the proclitic verbal particles *te-, be-, tebe-*,
3) the proclitic negational particle *ne-*,
4) the enclitic deictic (demonstrative) particle *-ai*
5) the endoclitic deictic particle *gi*
6) the endoclitic reflexive particle *s(i), is*

Ordinary prefixes - like *ap-, į-, už-* etc. (cf. p. 169 ff.) - or prepositions will not be explicitly dealt with here although they behave like 2) and 3) above. Nor will the enclitic pronominal element (M *-is/-jo*, F-*ji/-jos* etc.) of the pronominal (long or definite) adjective (cf. p. 64 f. above) be included in the description. In Old Lithuanian this element was an endoclitic since with prefixed adjectives it was inserted between the prefix and the root.

### 1. The Proclitic Interrogative Particle *ar*

This particle is written as a separate word and always occupies sentence initial position. It immediately precedes the crucial word of the question which can be a verb, a noun, a pronoun or an adverb(ial) (examples p. 243 above).

### 2. The Proclitic Verbal Particles *te-, be-, tebe-*

These prefix-like particles are primarily verbal. For their semantics, see p. 171 f. above. Together with the ordinary prefixes (type *ap-, į-, už-*), the negational particle *ne-* and the reflexive particle *-si-* they can form a string of clitics which are subject to strict hierarchic rules with respect to their relative position. Thus, in the case of cumulation *te* must (immediately) precede *be*. Further, the position next to the root (i. e. the rightmost position) is occupied by the reflexive particle *-si-* which can be immediately preceded by *be, tebe, ne* or *nebe*. An ordinary prefix - if present - occupies the position between *be,*

*tebe, ne* or *nebe* and *-si-*, e. g. 3 p. pres. *nebepasiliẽka* 'remain(s) is no longer', *nebeatsitiñka* 'occur(s) no longer occurring'. As demonstrated by these two examples the particles are written together with the verb in one word. Stress rules are given on pp. 102 f., 105 and *passim.*

**3. The Proclitic Negational Particle** *ne-*

In Lithuanian the negational particle is placed immediately before the word which is negated (for examples, see p. 185). When a verb is negated (which is often the case), this rule has to be formulated in a more exact way: its position in the linear hierarchy of prefixes is *after* an ordinary prefix (type *ap-, už* etc.), but *before be-* and *-si*. This is said implicitly in point 2, but the formulation should be made explicit here.

When *ne* negates a verb, it is written together with the verb. The same may be the case with nouns, adjectives pronouns and adverbs. In cases with an expressed contrast it is written separately: *ne geras/gerai, bet blogas/blogai* 'not good/well, but bad/badly', *ne jūs, o jie* 'not you, but they'.

**4. The Enclitic Particle** *-ai*

This particle functions as a frequent vocative marker with masculine proper names, e. g. *Vy(taut)ai*, cf. p. 41. It is further encountered with certain forms of the personal pronoun (e. g. *jisai*, cf. p. 73) for the purpose of giving them some emphasis and/or making them orthotonic (stressable), see p. 73.

**5. The Endoclitic Particle** *gi*

Like the preceding *-ai* this particle can also have some kind of emphatic or deictic character. It can follow or precede various parts of speech.

Illustrations:

*Seniau gi čia buvo miškai* 'earlier there were woods here', *kur eini gi?* 'where are you going, then?', *kelk, gi jau prisimiegojai* 'get up, you have already slept long enough'. This particle - like also those described in points 2 and 4 - often serves a rhythmic purpose and is frequently almost untranslatable. In German and Scandinavian *gi* can sometimes be rendered by *denn/doch* and *da (då)/jo (ju)* respectively.

As illustrated through the examples given *gi* is written as a separate word. Deviations from this principle can be found.

**6. The Endoclitic Reflexive Particle** *-s(i)/-is*

As mentioned in point 2 above this particle occupies the position nearest to the root. With unprefixed verbs (and verbal nouns, cf. p. 166) its position is enclitic whereby it appears in the form of *-si* and *-s* in postvocalic position (e. g. 3 p. pres. *ruõšiasi* : inf. *ruõštis* 'to prepare oneself'), *-is* in postconsonantal (e. g. past act. part., m. sg. nom. *ruõšęsis* 'one having prepared oneself'). It is always written together with the verb or verbal noun.

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